

# MILITARY

ILLUSTRATED ☐ PAST & PRESENT

No.33

FEBRUARY 1991

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DUBOIS DRAHONET**

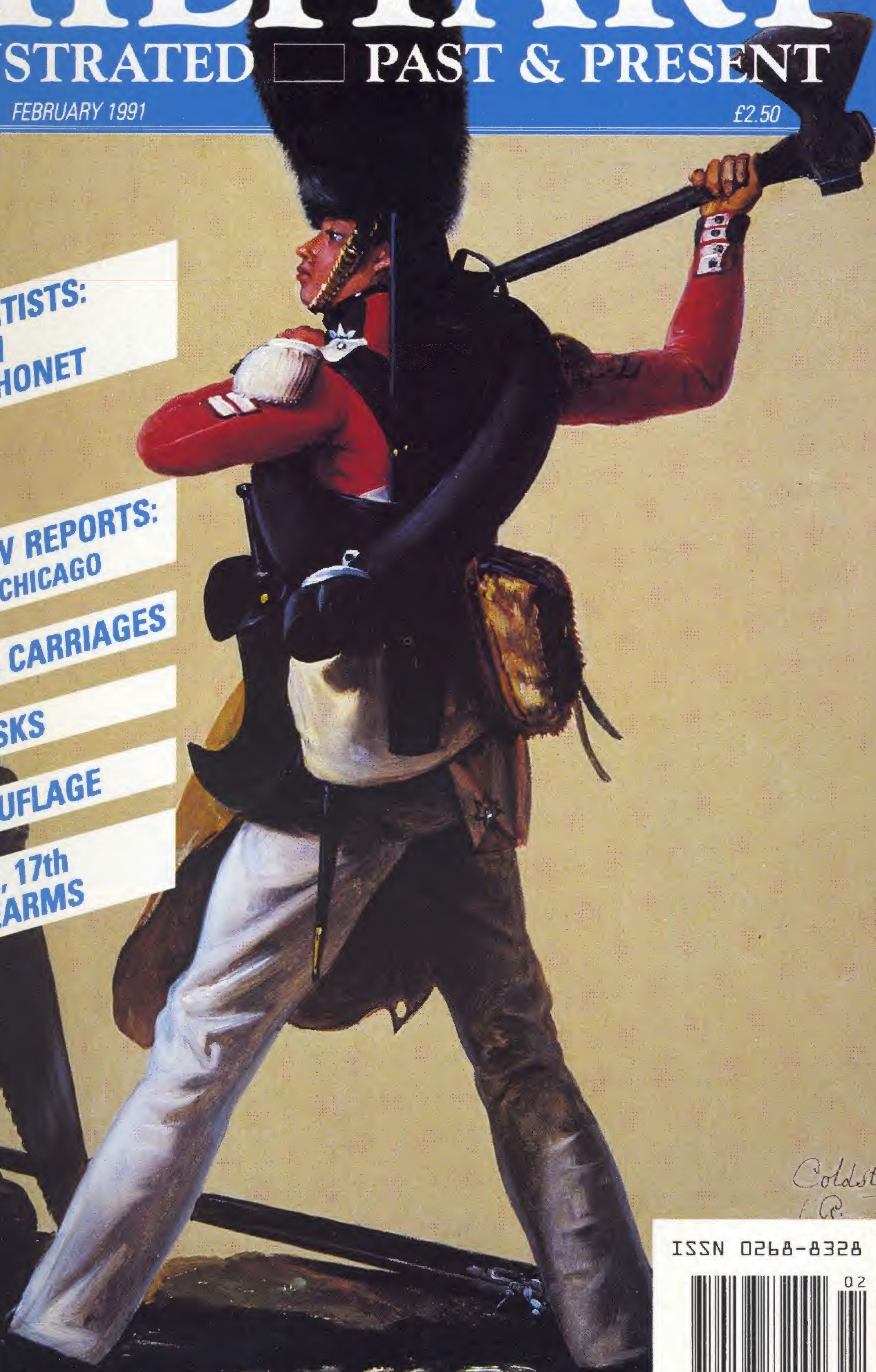
**MODEL SHOW REPORTS:  
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**NAPOLEON'S CARRIAGES**

**1915 GASMASKS**

**USMC CAMOUFLAGE**

**TESTING 16th, 17th  
& 18th C. FIREARMS**



ISSN 0268-8328



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# MILITARY ILLUSTRATED

□ PAST & PRESENT □

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Our cover illustration is a painting from life of a Coldstream Guards pioneer corporal of the 1830s by Dubois Drahonet — see article p.30.

Published monthly by  
MILITARY ILLUSTRATED LTD

### Accounts:

43 Museum Street, London WC1A 1LY  
(tel: 071-404-0304)

### Editorial:

5 Gerrard Street, London W1V 7LJ  
(tel: 071-287-4570)

### Advertising:

Raven Marketing Group,  
Cromwell Court, New Road,  
St Ives, Cambs. PE174BG  
(tel: 0480-496130)

### Typesetting:

PRS Ltd  
53a High Street Huntingdon  
Cambs PE18 6AQ  
(tel: 0480 414347)

### Printed by:

Surrey Fine Art Press Ltd  
Cavendish Rd., Redhill, Surrey RH1 4AH

### Editor:

MARTIN WINDROW

### Editorial design by

Kate Hardie

### UK newsagent distribution:

AGB Impress  
22 Farringdon Lane, London EC1R 3AU  
(tel: 071-253 3456)

### USA hobby trade:

Bill Dean Books Ltd.,  
131-35 31st Avenue,  
Linden Hill, NY 11354

### Canada:

Vanwell Publishing Ltd.,  
1 Northrup Cres., PO Box 2131, Stn. B,  
St. Catharines, Ontario L2M 6P5

### Australia & New Zealand:

Gordon & Gotch Ltd.  
25-37 Huntingdale Rd  
Burwood, Victoria 3125

### South Africa:

Internatag,  
CNA Building, 12 Laub St.,  
New Centre, Johannesburg

### France & Belgium:

Histoire & Collections,  
19 Avenue de la République, 75011 Paris  
(tel: 43-57-83-83)  
Price 32fr., year's subscriptions 350fr  
(France), 390fr (other EEC)

### Italy:

Tuttostoria, PO Box 395, 43100 Parma  
Price: L7,000, year's subscription L84,000

### Denmark:

Dansk Bladistribution  
9 Ved Anargarten  
DK-2300 Copenhagen

### Sweden:

Plus Interpress  
Strandbergsgatan 61, S-11289 Stockholm

### Subscriptions service

Military Illustrated,  
c/o Select Subscriptions  
5 Riverpark Estate, Billet Lane, Berkhamsted,  
Herts, HP4 1HL, England  
(tel: 0442-876661)

### Publisher's subscription rates for

12 issues (one year): UK, £30,  
other European, £50, by Airspeed — USA,  
\$75, other non-European, \$60; all  
payments in sterling or US dollars.

\*Military Illustrated Past & Present is  
published monthly by Windrow & Greene Ltd  
The subscription price is \$75 for one year  
Second Class Postage Pending at Rahway NJ  
Postmaster send address corrections to  
Military Illustrated c/o Mercury Airfreight  
International Ltd Inc 233 Randolph Avenue,  
Avenel, New Jersey 07001, USA

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# EDITORIAL

Our article unravelling the dastardly story of the fate of Napoleon's carriage at Waterloo is a labour of love by **Anthony de la Poer**, and the fruit of literally years of research. Tony was born in 1940 and educated at Wellington College. Perversely, the Iron Duke proved less interesting than his great opponent; and the study of the Emperor of the French, his army and his empire have been a passion ever since. Though a dedicated modeller, and collector of books and prints, he has not made a serious venture into writing before this project. A building society manager, Tony lives in Surrey; he is married, and has six children.

We are grateful to our friend **Dr. Erwin Schmidl** of Vienna for alerting us to the existence of the fascinating work of **Dr. Peter Krenn** in the field of early firearms and their effect. Born in Graz, Austria, in 1937, Dr. Krenn studied the history of art, archaeology and German philology, and received his D.Phil. from Graz University. In 1962 he joined the Styrian Provincial Museum Joanneum at Graz, first as assistant curator of the Picture and Sculpture Gallery, and since 1968 as director of the Landeszeughaus (Provincial Armoury), a department of the Joanneum. He has to his credit numerous publications and exhibitions in the fields of art, history, historic weapons, and Austrian Army equipment. He is a member of the Austrian Commission for Military History, and of the Society for Historic Weapons and Costumes. We are grateful both to Dr. Krenn for access to this summary of his report, and to Erwin for his translation.



Dr. Peter Krenn



Anthony de la Poer

## Errata

We are ashamed to note that in our article on the 1990 Waterloo re-enactment ('MI' No.32, January) the credit line for the photographs was omitted due to a printing error. All photographs for this piece were taken by Brian Leigh Davis, a familiar name to all militaria enthusiasts and a familiar sight for several years now at all major events connected with the hobby. Our apologies...

## Royal Armouries Saturday Workshops

These participatory study days, which we have praised highly in the past, continue throughout the spring. Readers who attend will find the discussions, demonstrations, and opportunities to handle rare artefacts under the guidance of some of the country's leading experts very valuable. Fees are £25 per day, or £20 for pensioners, students, the disabled or unemployed. Refreshments are included. For more details and booking forms contact the Education Centre, Royal Armouries, HM Tower of London, EC3N 4AB (tel: 071-480-6358 ext.332). Subjects are: 16 February The Sword in Peace and War; 2 March The Work of the Gunsmith — making a matchlock; 20 April The Study of Armour — functions and forms; 11 May Cartridge Firearms; 15 June at Ft. Nelson — transport available from Havant station — Artillery and Fortification: the

Palmerston Forts and their Armament.

## Victorian Military Fair

The Victorian Military Society ask us to note the date of this event: 9 March, 10.30 a.m. — 4.30 p.m., at the Victory Services Club in Seymour St., London W2, just round the corner from Marble Arch underground station. This year's special theme is Cavalry. The Fair will offer the usual rich mixture of exhibits and dealers' stalls, with plenty to interest modellers, wargamers, collectors of militaria and medals, books and prints. Further details can be had from Richard Caie, 62 The Links, St. Leonards on Sea, E. Sussex TN38 0UW.

## Civil War Lancashire

Readers may be interested to know that from 23 March the Lancashire County and Regimental Museum in Stanley St., Preston, is running an exhibition which promises to bring together the widest ranging collection of Civil War artefacts outside London — archaeological finds and works of art, arms and armour from York Castle, paintings, tracts, and many other items. The museum is open every day except Thursday and Sunday.

## 'Shaka Zulu'

We are told as we go to press that this series — of which the video was reviewed at length by Ian Knight in an illustrated article in 'MI' No.11 — is to be shown in at least some ITV areas, late on Saturday nights between 19 January and 9 February.

## OPERATION 'GRANBY'

Our back cover this month shows the British Army's new Desert Combat Suit. In two-tone 'rust and sand', the suit is very similar in design to the existing DPM tropical

No.9 Dress. We are told that a wide range of additional items are being made in this camouflage finish for desert issue — helmet cover, combat body armour cover, and several different scarves, neck rags and camo material sheets. Other special-to-theatre issue includes water chugals, 'rough-out' desert chukka boots, desert combat boots, sunglasses, and so forth.

Our photo shows a Sapper from the Royal Engineers element of 7th Armoured Brigade in Saudi Arabia. This unit is equipped with the SLR and SMG, and retain the old '58 webbing equipment; the infantry have the new PLCE 80 and the latest range of personal weapons. Note the 'haversack, IPE' on his left hip, bulked out by his S10 respirator (with drinking device), various detection and disinfectant items, a spare canister, NAPS pre-treatment tablets and 'combo pen' self-injection nerve agent antidotes.

In our next issue we will be publishing more photographs of British troops in the Gulf, like this one courtesy of our friend Yves Debay.



## Video Releases to Buy:

- 'Samson and Delilah' (CIC:U)
- 'Spartacus' (CIC:PG)
- 'The Antagonists' (CIC:15)
- 'King David' (CIC:PG)
- 'Anne of a Thousand Days' (CIC:PG)
- 'Lady Jane' (CIC:PG)

CIC have released six films on video with military and historic interest, four of which are set in Biblical or Roman times. The name of Cecil B. DeMille was long synonymous with the Hollywood historical epic, and *Samson and Delilah* (1949) is in many ways typical. The familiar story derives from three chapters from the Book of Judges in the Old Testament and the book *Judge and Fool* by Vladimir Jabotinsky. In the film, Samson (Victor Mature) has been given by God enormous physical strength on condition he refrain from divulging that the secret lies in his uncut hair. Unfortunately, he is seduced by his Philistine lover Delilah (Hedy Lamarr) into revealing his secret. She then takes advantage of him by cutting his hair, thus allowing him to be captured and blinded. Although one of DeMille's most famous films, the production is not as spectacular as its reputation might suggest. Samson's slaying of a (stuffed) lion is most unconvincing;

# ON THE SCREEN

his slaying of the Philistine army with the jawbone of an ass is also cheaply shot in the studio. However, the production benefits from enjoyable performances from its two stars, and the climax, in which the blinded Samson brings down the temple of Dagon on the heathen worshippers, was a triumph of special effects. Its huge box-office success was undoubtedly instrumental in the appearance of a large number of epics set in the ancient world throughout the 1950s and 1960s.

Stanley Kubrick's *Spartacus* (1960) was arguably the most intelligent and literate of the 1960s epics. Based on the novel by Howard Fast, the film tells the story of the Thracian slave who led a revolt that threatened to topple the Roman Empire. The action opens in 73 BC, when Spartacus (Kirk Douglas) is bought by a *lanista* called Batiatus (Peter Ustinov) to train at his gladiator school in Capua. The gladiators live in degrading conditions, although Spartacus does enjoy Varinia (Jean Simmons) in the brief, but hardly private opportunities afforded for physical relief. A visit by patrician Marcus Licinius Crassus (Laurence Olivier), one of the wealthiest

and most powerful men in Rome brings the demand that two pairs of gladiators should fight to the death. This provides the catalyst for the revolt. Spartacus' slave army quickly increases in size, and by superior morale and generalship defeats the legions sent against them. However, the failure of a pirate fleet to take Spartacus and his followers to safety gives Crassus the opportunity to bring about the final and decisive battle.

This battle is spectacularly staged: the manoeuvring of the Roman army is an awesome spectacle, and well conveys why the legions were the most effective military organisations of their time. Saul Bass, better known for his imaginative credit sequences, claims that he designed the battle scene, particularly the 'venetian-blind effect' as the Romans turn their shields in unison. The magnificent long-shots are let down by poor close-ups of hand-to-hand fighting which appear to have been shot with a handful of extras in a completely different location. Plutarch records that Spartacus was killed in battle: his capture and death by crucifixion in the film may take some liberties with history, but nonetheless provides the

opportunity for the dying Spartacus to see Varinia and their infant son escape to freedom.

The script well conveyed how the forces of reaction, even in a society riddled with moral decay, can combine to thwart revolutionary activity. Doubtless scriptwriter Dalton Trumbo saw parallels with the McCarthy period: this was the first script he was credited with since being blacklisted as one of the 'Hollywood Ten' in 1947. The film also featured Charles Laughton as the wealthy Gracchus, Tony Curtis as Crassus' body-servant and poet Antonius, and John Gavin as the young Julius Caesar.

The film was originally 196 minutes long, but lost 12 minutes before going on general release: scenes showing Crassus' attempted seduction of Antonius, and some of the more ferocious battle footage were cut at the request of the American Legion of Decency. Also cut was an important scene in which Gracchus explains to Julius Caesar the realities of Roman political life. Had CIC taken the opportunity to restore these scenes, purchase of the video would have been an even more worthwhile proposition.

Douglas successfully used the story to make a pro-Zionist 'let-my-people-go' parable, with Spartacus representing Moses, and Crassus the Pharaoh.

The parallel with the Exodus was also apparent in Boris Sagal's *The Antagonists* (1981). The film was based on Ernest K. Gann's novel of the same title set during the Jewish Revolt against the Romans, culminating in the siege of Masada in 73 AD. The film begins with the fall of Jerusalem in 70 AD, and the evacuation of Jewish Zealots and their families to Masada, the hill fortress built by Herod the Great. The Zealots considered the fortress to be impregnable as the only access up the steep slopes was by a narrow, twisting path. Herod had carved in the rocks huge water-cisterns fed by an aqueduct; there was also room on the hilltop for keeping cattle and growing crops. However, the Zealots had not

counted on Roman determination in the form of General Flavius Silva, commander of the Tenth Legion. During a two-year siege Silva used Jewish slave labour to build a ramp to enable a massive battering-ram to destroy the wall at the top. The scene was set for one of history's most dramatic stories of resistance to the death.

The film starred Peter O'Toole as Silva, with Barbara Carrera as his Jewish mistress Sheva, with whom he is infatuated. Anthony Quayle appears as Rubrius Gallus, Silva's experienced siege-master; Peter Strauss plays Eleazar, the Zealot leader, and Timothy West makes a brief appearance as the Emperor Vespasian. Although pro-Zionist in conception, the film well

conveys how the various Jewish factions squabbled amongst themselves until united by a common enemy. The film was given a brief release in Britain in 1981, but readers of 'MI' are more likely to have seen it in its four-part six-hour television mini-series form, called *Masada* (1980), broadcast by the BBC. The last hours included some fascinating details concerning the life of the Roman legionary.

CIC's quartet of Roman/Biblical epics is completed by Bruce Beresford's sadly underrated *King David* (1987) which starred a surprisingly good Richard Gere in the title role and an excellent performance by Edward Woodward as King Saul. The film was fully reviewed in 'MI'

No.6 when it first appeared on rental video.

The remaining films are set in Tudor England. In Charles Jarrot's *Anne of the Thousand Days* (1969), Henry VIII (Richard Burton) plots to divorce Queen Katherine (Irene Papas) and marry Anne Boleyn (Genevieve Bujold), against the wishes of the Pope. Trevor Nunn's more recent *Lady Jane* (1985) tells the tragic story of the weak-willed Edward VI (Cary Elwes), the last of the Tudor line, and the gentle sixteen-year-old Lady Jane Grey (Helena Bonham-Carter), who became Queen of England for just nine days when married to a pretender to his throne.

Stephen J. Greenhill

This is the time of the year when it is usual for columnists to look back over the past twelve months, skilfully discerning the trends and pointing to future developments. It is fairly easy to see the events of the past year in context with some clarity. Forecasting the future trend is somewhat more difficult.

There can be very few dealers or auction houses who will dispute that by and large the antique market has been fairly quiet — some would say moribund — over the last year. This has certainly been as true for the arms and armour section as for any other. Sales and arms fairs over the past year have been examined and compared, and while prices may not have fallen they have stayed fairly static. There has also been a general increase in the number of unsold lots in auctions, a useful guide to the success or failure of a sale. Even those sales which have been reasonably successful have been rather lifeless, lacking the snap and crackle of keen competition.

There have been changes in the organisation of the sales, and there are plans for more. Christie's have moved their sales of arms and armour back to prestigious King Street, leaving the somewhat unfairly scorned South Kensington premises: a move that one suspects will please the dealers, who often seemed to have a rather biased attitude to the Old Brompton Road.

Phillips have also announced changes in their set-up, with arms and armour separating from militaria.

## THE AUCTION SCENE

Chris Allen remains in charge of arms and armour, and the house will hold three sales at their New Bond Street premises in 1991. This would seem to suggest that the house is aiming at fewer but larger sales to replace their popular, more frequent general sales. The Phillips militaria material will be sold by Glendenning as part of their medals sales, and Adam Livingstone will continue to handle this material.

One other change has yet to make its impact on sales, for the new order in Eastern Europe is, as yet, an unknown quantity. Will the newly born capitalism create a new breed of collectors and dealers? Will the harsher economic climate force some governments or so-far unknown collectors to sell some of their treasures? Earlier this month a first militaria sale was held at the military museum in Dresden. Only one British dealer was offering goods for sale, and the majority of visitors were apparently West Germans. The vast majority of material was militaria, and as might be expected a great deal of former DDR material was on offer. Military and Border Guard uniform and equipment was well in evidence and generally at fairly low prices. Fairs are no new thing for West Germany, but it will be most interesting to see if trade in the old East flourishes. It will also be interesting to see what amount of Eastern European militaria will

reach this country and how the market will react. At the moment East German material is little regarded, but despite its current prevalence it must be remembered that no more will be made and the current stock must eventually diminish.

Dealers and auction houses are also looking closely at Eastern Europe but so far there do not appear to have been any great discoveries or deals. It may be that there have been such deals and everybody is keeping quiet, but there is no doubt that at least two top dealers have drawn blanks.

If one can draw any general conclusion from the situation it is that it is an arms and armour buyer's market at the moment, with many dealers happy to take a smaller than usual profit in order to generate some cash flow. The uncertainty over proposed European firearms legislation is also restraining the shooting market.

Wallis & Wallis held a sale in the middle of November and it is interesting to note that one future desirable field seems to be the badges of the Indian Army — a small collection of them sold extremely well.

December sees the regular sales, and Phillips have a general sale of arms and armour on 6 December with some interesting pieces including an unusual Japanese helmet. There is a good selection of antique firearms, including a

cased pair of percussion pistols with a fulminate priming system which are thought to have British royal connections. The miscellaneous and militaria section offers an officer's helmet of the Durham Artillery Militia (estimated at £1,200-£1,500), which is overshadowed by some Italian Fascist material including another Mussolini hat, this one worn by Il Duce as first Honorary Corporal of the MVSN.

Sotheby's have a big joint sale of arms, armour, medals and decorations on 17-18 December. There are a number of armours (miniature, composite, and modern) on offer, along with a varied selection of antique firearms including several cased sets. The smaller selection of militaria includes an interesting collection of material pertaining to the 10th Hussars. The larger medal section includes some fine and unusual lots, all of which, as always, are extensively researched and described.

On 7 December Kent Sales are holding another of their 'offer by tender' sales with over 500 lots. Despite some reluctance by the trade to use this slightly unusual type of sale it seems that the collector rather likes it, and the sales are said to be doing well. Weller & Duffly also have one of their big sales on 6-7 December, so it promises to be a busy start to the festive month. It will be interesting to see the prices lists and discover what effect, if any, the market changes have had. The dealers and auction houses will also find out if they have anything to be festive about.

Frederick Wilkinson

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# REVIEWS

**'World War II: The Sharp End' by John Ellis; Windrow & Greene Ltd.; 412pp.; 32pp b/w illus.; notes, appendix, biblio, index; £18.95**

To be asked to review a book published by the editor of 'MI' might under other circumstances cause a reviewer some unease; in this case there is no possible conflict of interest. The original edition of this book, published all of ten years ago, was one of the most influential I had ever read; I could never understand why it did not become

of their own.

On the dust-wrapper *The Sharp End* is endorsed in the warmest terms by, among others, Gen. Sir John Hackett, John Keegan, and Len Deighton. When a soldier and a military historian of such distinction, and a novelist famous for his own depth of research, all go on record with phrases such as '...best balanced, most sensitive and best informed study'.... 'essential account', and '...exceptionally gifted, we know we are in good hands. JS



more widely known, and was delighted to learn that Mr. Ellis was bringing out a revised and extended edition. It was worth the wait.

In a year when books on World War II have flooded the market, this important and fascinating study stands head and shoulders above the opposition. It is a work of genuinely original scholarship; it opens doors through which civilian readers seldom get a glimpse; it is enormously readable, and highly informative; and I found myself deeply moved by many passages.

In brief, it tells the story — in their own words — of the ordinary soldiers and junior officers of the 'teeth' arms of the British Commonwealth and United States armies. It describes their day to day, year to year experience, physical and mental, of war 'at the sharp end'; and it explains why they underwent these experiences. It is based upon voracious research among published and unpublished memoirs and other writings, underpinned by the cold facts which the author has unearthed in official archives. Mr. Ellis clearly has both a driving curiosity to know exactly *what, how, and why*; and the talent to arrange and explain the facts he uncovers. Many of these facts will come as a shock even to those readers who think they know what frontline life was like.

The 50-plus monochrome photographs are well selected, and include a majority which are new to me. Readers should be warned that some could be upsetting: Mr. Ellis does not flinch from images of the pain and loss of war. The faces which stare out from some of these pages poignantly illustrate the experiences described in the text.

The book includes a very full extended bibliography, and is fully annotated; it will be of value to many who wish to pursue particular research

*A wounded sergeant of the Durhams in the Normandy hedgerows, June 1944; from John Ellis's 'World War II: The Sharp End'. (IWM)*

## PIKE AND SHOT

**'The English Civil War' by Maurice Ashley; Alan Sutton Publishing; 202pp; illus. throughout; £16.95**

This is a second edition of a work which can be regarded as one of the standard overviews of the three civil wars which befell England in the years 1642 to 1651. Dr. Ashley has updated the book to include the most significant new research which has appeared since the first edition was published. Inevitably a work which seeks to provide an easy-to-read account of the twists and turns of political and military events over such a period of time must suffer some compression. Only once, when dealing with the western campaign which turned on the Royalist victory of Roundway Down, does the clear narrative thread become tangled. This aside, the course of events is easy to follow and both general and specialist readers will be carried along with the unfolding of great events.

The book contains numerous black and white illustrations, and the selection is not the same as in the first edition; some favourites have been lost, but interesting new material has been introduced to replace them. This reviewer often flicked through the first edition when seeking a vital detail of dress or weaponry from an original print, and the new edition will prove just as useful.

A book which seeks to tell such a wide ranging story in only some 200 pages must aim at the general reader. It is a mark of the depth of Dr. Ashley's understanding and knowledge that he

has produced a revision which will entertain and inform that reader, but which will also hold the attention of the serious student of the period who has a well-thumbed copy of the first edition. JPT

**'Scots Armies of the 17th Century'; Part 2 'Scots Colours' and Part 3 'The Royalist Armies 1639-46', by Stuart Reid; Partizan Press; 90pp and 65pp; illus.; p/bk; £5.45 each inc. postage.**

Partizan Press remains the most prolific of small specialist publishers and their A5 stapled booklets continue to introduce valuable research material which would not be viable for commercial publication. The first PP booklet was *Scots Armies* by Stuart Reid; and it is a measure of the development of both publisher and author (whose hardback book on Montrose has just appeared) that the same title has been expanded to four volumes. The first volume dealt with the Army of the Covenant and the Royalist Armies volume matches its high standard. Mr. Reid's view of Highlanders is far removed from romantic legend and is not universally popular, but his critics have yet to counter his arguments. The booklet on Colours features line drawings of 104 flags plus an attractive full colour cover. A great deal of original primary research has gone into producing this volume, and a companion booklet on flags of the English Armies of the Civil Wars is eagerly awaited. JPT

**'Richard Symonds: The Complete Military Diary' by Stuart Peachy and Les Prince; Partizan Press, 26 Cliffsea Grove, Leigh-on-Sea, Essex; 80pp; 16 b/w illus.; p/bk; £5.45**

Richard Symonds, a volunteer who served in the King's Lifeguard of Horse during the English Civil War, was an inveterate scribbler and the five notebooks which he left covering his period of service with the Royalist army from early 1644 until late 1645 have long been recognised as a rich source of information on the regiments which he encountered. Unfortunately, since his primary interest was heraldry his notes on military matters are all too frequently submerged amongst far more copious jottings on the heraldry found in churches along the line of march.

In the *Military Diary* this extraneous material has been edited out by Stuart Peachy to leave a more manageable and coherent set of notes drawn from the first four books. Unlike the Camden Society transcript of 1859 this one is well illustrated, both with enlarged reproductions of Symonds' sketches of colours and cornets and with some excellent reconstructions based upon them by Dr. Prince. Most of Symonds' sketches are scratchy little pictures, smaller than a postage stamp; and as Dr. Prince demonstrates, most of the reconstructions hitherto made do not bear comparison with the originals. Good examples are a cornet of Leveson's Horse bearing a device usually reproduced as a Louis XIV-style sun in splendour, but which actually appears in the notebooks to be a bible; and one of the King's Lifeguard

colours, invariably depicted as bearing a dragon device, but which the original sketch shows to be a griffin.

The whole subject of colours, cornets and indeed uniforms of the Civil War is one which has been ill-served by modern writers. Partizan Press is shortly to publish the first in a series of monographs on the subject by Messrs. Peachy and Prince, and on the evidence of their treatment of Symonds' notebooks this will be something to look forward to. SAR

## 18th & 19th CENTURIES

**'Culloden and the 45' by Jeremy Black; Alan Sutton; 212pp; 9 maps, 58 b/w illus.; index; £16.95**

All too many histories of the last Jacobite rising have been written from the Scottish Jacobite point of view, and are for the most part little more than variations on the rather tired old theme of 'how we marched to Derby and back', with the other players relegated to providing an assortment of noises off. Jeremy Black, after a brief but useful resumé of the Jacobites' place in British and continental politics, places the rebellion very firmly in its immediate context, and demonstrates that it was essentially an important aspect of the struggle between Britain and France in the War of the Austrian Succession. Thus proper attention is paid to the very elaborate though ultimately fruitless preparations made by the French for invasions in 1744 and 1745, and also to the Dutch and Hessian involvement.

The central core of his argument is that militarily the rising came very close to success at Derby; but, while rightly stressing the superior mobility of the Jacobite forces, he also produces some interesting evidence that when it actually came to a stand-up fight the Highlanders were by no means as effective as is so often claimed — a fact appreciated even by the clan chiefs, who insisted after Falkirk (something of a debacle on both sides) that since there was no time to train their men, more French regulars were necessary if victory was to be achieved. The Highland charge was not enough.

The illustrations, although of little merit in themselves, are at least — like most of the sources — new, and a refreshing change from the tired old favourites; but this otherwise excellent book is rather marred by some very poor maps indeed. Given that publishers are increasingly unwilling to employ cartographers, authors ought to be making better use of tracing paper. SAR

**'The Napoleonic Source Book' by Philip J. Haythornthwaite; Arms and Armour Press; 414pp; 21 maps, 14 diagrams, 231 b/w illus.; index; £19.95**

The writer of this stylish book is well known to readers of this magazine as a widely respected researcher and historical consultant. He is the talented author of many standard military books, and a regular contributor to all the better military journals. This work is the result of many years of single-

continued on page 8



continued from page 7

mind and intelligent study and research drawing on an incredibly wide range of sources, many from the author's own extensive library and collection.

The result is a book simply crammed with good things and a welcome contribution to the literature of the period. It is structured in seven sections: The Campaigns, Weapons and Practice of War, The Nations Involved, Biographies, Sources, Miscellanea, and a Glossary. It examines the major campaigns from the heady days of Waterloo, with a list of the major battles on land and sea giving dates, locations and the names and nationalities of both victors and vanquished. There is a list of important treaties, followed by a study of all the weaponry, strategy and tactics, with sub-sections dealing with Medical Services, Siegecraft and Higher Formations.

There is a precise description of over 60 warring nations ranging from Anhalt to Würzburg, with details of their leaders and history, the composition of their forces and uniform details. Forty short biographies of significant military and naval leaders and notes on the major military artists follow; and there is a very extensive bibliography divided into the various campaigns, with added data on the literature and fiction of the time.

The Miscellaneous chapter has sections on statistics, artillery tables, the rating of ships of war etc.; and there is a useful sub-section explaining in modern terms the meaning of a variety of colours used for uniforms. The book finishes with a useful glossary of military terms. It is highlighted throughout with a hundred or more selected anecdotes carefully chosen to avoid the hackneyed. There are over 20 very well designed maps by Richard Natkiel, and the book is liberally provided with black and white illustrations of uniforms, battle pieces, portraits, and the lesser known medals and decorations.

The author has successfully created an invaluable, wide-ranging reference book which works both as an easily read historical narrative, and as a practical handbook to be browsed over and dipped into for instant references not to be obtained elsewhere. It is safely recommended to all serious researchers and Napoleonic enthusiasts.

DSVF

**'Campaigns: Zulu 1879, Egypt 1882, Suakin 1885'** by Guy C. Dawnay; 1989 reprint by Ken Trotman Ltd, Unit 11, 135 Ditton Walk, Cambridge, CB5 8QD; 240pp; p/bk, £13.50.

**'Fighting the Fuzzy-Wuzzy'** by Maj. E.A. De Cosson FRGS; 1990 reprint by Greenhill Books, Lionel Leventhal Ltd, Park House, 1 Russell Gardens, London NW11 9NN; 343 pp, 8 illus.

It was not uncommon in the last century for gentlemen of independent means, or officers on the generous leave then allowed, to make their way at their own expense out to Africa and there, armed with letters of introduction or relying on the old boy network, to obtain military employment in whatever campaign was in train at the time. Nowadays it would be inconceivable for a Member of Parliament, having arranged a pair in the House, to arrive, say, in the Persian Gulf and find employment with 7th Armoured Brigade. Yet this is exactly what Guy Dawnay, a Yorkshire MP, did in 1885 when he turned up in the Eastern Sudan and was given work organising the camel transport for the second Suakin campaign, thereby enabling himself to witness the Battles of Hasheen and Tofrek as well as other engagements.

Six years earlier, with the help of a kinsman on Gen. Marshall's staff, he went out to the Zulu War and made himself useful as a horse coper, a galloper and general liaison officer, taking part in the Relief of Eshowe; and later, after much hard riding, getting himself to Ulundi in time to assist in the final overthrow of the Zulus and actually participating in the 17th Lancers' charge at the end of the battle, armed with borrowed sword and revolver.

Arriving in Egypt in 1882 for the campaign against Arabi Pasha, he quickly found friends among the Guards Brigade and, by securing a press pass, was able to see most of the campaign, including Tel-el-Kebir, occupying himself by performing useful errands and writing occasional accounts for the *St. James's Gazette*.

The journal he kept during these three campaigns, now reprinted, was first published privately in 1886. Whether Dawnay had any formal military training is not evident from this edition, but clearly he was a good horseman and shot — at anything that moved — and performed the military roles he acquired effectively. His observations are informed and thoughtful, with pertinent comments not only about the fighting, but also on such matters as the health of unacclimatised troops and the medical arrangements which, in the Egyptian campaign, he thought left much to be desired. His journal is a useful addition to the literature of these campaigns, the Zululand portion in particular providing a welcome change from the well-worn fields of Rorke's Drift and Isandlwana. The edition could, however, have benefited from some explanatory notes. Curiously, it has been bound in a cover apparently depicting Highlanders at Omdurman, which of course does not feature in the book.

Dawnay was always willing to lend a hand; and one officer he assisted at Suakin was the author of the second book under review, who described him as indefatigable and though 'not a sol-

dier, loved the very hardships of war with a soldier's love'. Major E. A. De Cosson had been in the Militia and was on the Reserve, but went out to Suakin and was appointed to organise the force's water supply. His book, written up from his own journal, official despatches and correspondents' reports, was originally published in 1886 as *Days and Nights of Service with Sir Gerald Graham's Field Force at Suakin*; to this reprint have been added seven illustrations from the *Illustrated London News* and a facsimile diagram of Tofrek, plus the text of Kipling's *Fuzzy-Wuzzy*.

De Cosson's work covers the same events as Dawnay but more comprehensively and in a more graphic style which, with insights into the conduct of operations and details of life with the field force, give a vivid picture of the campaign. Despite his administrative duties De Cosson, like Dawnay, was present at all the engagements, which he describes as fully as the difficulties of providing sufficient water in the desert.

The re-issue of these two books, together with Ken Trotman's 1988 reprint of Bennet Burleigh's account of the first Suakin expedition (reviewed 'MP' No. 21), has done much to resurrect the 1884-85 operations in the Eastern Sudan, which have tended to be overshadowed by the more familiar Nile campaign to rescue Gordon, and for this the publishers deserve commendation.

MJB

**'Small Wars' by Col. C. E. Callwell; 1990 reprint of 1906 edition by Greenhill Books; 559 pp; 5 illustrations; £17.95**

This famous book, originally titled *Small Wars: Their Principles and Practice*, was first published in 1896, and went into revised editions in 1899 and 1906. A facsimile reprint of the 1906 edition was published in 1976 by Purnell Book Services Ltd. The same edition has now been re-issued with a new subtitle, *A Tactical Handbook for Imperial Soldiers*, together with an illuminating Preface by Col. Peter Walton, Chairman of the Victorian Military Society, and five illustrations from contemporary magazines as well as the original 15 battle plans.

Col. Callwell, a gunner officer, served in the Second Afghan War and both Boer Wars but, after the Staff College, spent most of his service in the Operations or Intelligence branches of the War Office. He defined small wars as operations between regular, disciplined armies and irregular or guerrilla forces. In considering how such operations should be conducted, he studied and drew lessons from not only the British army's colonial campaigns but also similar warfare carried out by

other European and the United States armies. His work remained an important textbook for generations of British and other officers, certainly up to 1914, and even between the wars. As Col. Walton points out, though Callwell's broad principles are timeless, the vastly different world since 1945 has overtaken much of what Callwell preached; however, if it is no longer a valid military textbook, it is certainly the historian's guide.

Anyone interested in such campaigning will welcome this well-produced edition of such a profound and masterly work.

MJB

## 20th CENTURY

**'Operation Desert Shield: The First 90 Days' by Eric Micheletti & Yves Debay; Europa-Militaria No.7; Windrow & Greene Ltd.; 64pp, colour illus. throughout; p/bk; £9.95**

As this reviewer delivers his typescript an advance copy of this latest — and extraordinarily fast — addition to the Euro-Militaria series comes to hand. These two experienced French military photographers seem to have beaten the field in getting into the military zones of Saudi Arabia, and back with their pictures. The book has nearly 100 well-printed colour photos, ranging from 'Lawrence'-style 'landscapes with soldiers' to close-up portraits. The bulk of these are, unsurprisingly, US paratroops, Marines, infantry, tankers, gunners, and airmen: the photographers were on their way home before 7th Armoured Brigade arrived. There are some fine studies of tanks, APCs, Humvees, artillery, helicopters, and fixed-wing aircraft on active service. Among the surprises are a couple of the best colour shots yet seen of Syrian commandos; several of Egyptian special forces in a new camouflage uniform; and Saudi Arabian infantry and tank crews. The long captions and short text sections are full of facts and figures — did you know how many bottles of anti-sunburn cream had been issued (and how much they cost?) An attractive and useful reference book, excellent for modellers, and full of pleasure for those who simply admire good photography of soldiers in the field. Congratulations to all concerned, not least for getting the book out so fast.

GHS

**'US Marine Corps in Colour Photographs' by Yves Debay; Europa-Militaria No.5; Windrow & Greene Ltd.; 64pp, colour illus. throughout; p/bk; £9.95**

Although slim in the hand, this book contains nearly 100 colour photographs printed to a good size, showing the men and equipment of today's US Marine ground troops, with some helicopters, Rigid Raiders and Amtracs. Individual and support weapons, personal equipment, combat clothing, artillery, tanks and APCs figure prominently. Nearly all the photos were taken on manoeuvres, so they give a good idea of the Corps in action; some are quite 'moody' and dramatic — M. Debay is an old hand at this kind of thing, and it shows. The text offers a

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# US Marine Camouflage Uniforms, 1942-45 (2)

JIM MORAN

Part 1 of this article ('MI' No. 32) described and illustrated the use by the US Marines of the US Army's one-piece camouflage coveralls in 1942-43; and the introduction, initially to special units such as the Raider Battalions, of the first pattern two-piece camouflage uniforms.

## SECOND PATTERN TWO-PIECE CAMOUFLAGE UNIFORM

During 1944 attempts were made to improve on both the camouflaged and the uncamouflaged two-piece 'utility' uniforms. The first pattern camouflage uniform had suffered primarily from the use on both the jacket and trousers of 'glove-snaps' (press-stud fasteners) which did not stand up to hard usage in the field. From the design of the second pattern it seems that the provision of pockets was also considered inadequate. The 'utility uniform, herringbone twill, camouflage (modified)' was produced in the same material as the first pattern, with the same contrasting reversible camouflage patterns in greens and browns; as with the first pattern, the 'greens' side was normally worn outermost. On the jacket the frontal glove-snap fasteners were replaced by four black metal buttons bearing the legend 'US MARINE CORPS' round the rim; these were the same pattern of buttons as used on the 'utility uniform, HBT, sage-green'. The sleeve cuffs were adjustable, each having two (alternative) horizontally spaced black metal buttons at the outer bottom edge to engage with hemmed buttonholes in the fabric.

The patch pockets of the first pattern jacket were discarded. Instead, two large internal chest pockets were provided; these had 'slash' openings set vertically, each side of the jacket's front closure and occupying almost the whole depth from the second to the fourth front buttons. Each of these openings was fastened by a sin-

gle black glove-snap set on just above the third front button. The original purpose of these chest pockets is uncertain; they are generally termed 'map pockets', but it appears that they were originally intended for the insertion of flotation bladders for use during amphibious landings.

The second pattern trousers were equally distinctive. Once more, they were reversible. The original glove-snap fly was now replaced by a fly fastened by four black metal 'US MARINE CORPS' buttons. The cuff bottoms were plain, but were provided with machine-stitched eyelets — a pair on each inner leg surface — for the insertion of draw-

strings in the hemmed cuffs if desired. The waistband was provided with vertical machine-stitched slits all the way round, these serving as belt loops. There were also six metal eyelets — two at each side of the front, and two centrally at the back — for the attachment direct to the trousers of the standard US Marine webbing load suspenders.

The most immediately noticeable feature, as with the second pattern jacket, was the pocket arrangement. Across the seat of the trousers was mounted a single large cargo pocket or 'butt pouch'. Access from both left and right sides was through a vertical opening, which also gave access to the inside of the trousers. On both sides these two openings were closed by a pointed flap; a single black glove-snap set centrally and forward on the out-seam secured the through access, and three snaps set in the 'corners' of the flap fastened the 'butt' pocket.

Contradictory reports exist as to the use of this second pattern camouflage uniform in combat during World War II; but to the author's knowledge no photographic evidence

exists of this uniform being worn in battle before VJ-Day. The only photographs known to the author of its use in the Pacific show Bob Hope's entertainment troop on a Pacific tour late in 1944.

The camouflaged utilities, at first so popular, had become distinctly less so as combat experience accumulated. By the time of the Okinawa invasion in April 1945 they were no longer being requested by units in the field, and in some formations (e.g. 1st Marine Division) they had not been widely used since mid-1943. According to veterans' reports (the only documents which address the reasons for their fall from favour) the camouflage pattern made a moving man more obvious than the sage-green utilities; the 'browns' side washed out with use to a bright pinkish appearance; and, being made of two weights of material, they were uncomfortably hot.

The second pattern two-piece uniform did, however, see service in small numbers in Korea, and the early years of involvement in Vietnam. After 1945 quantities of camouflage clothing of US Marine first and second patterns and US Army pattern were supplied to French Union forces in what was then French Indo-China, where they were issued to paratroop units. The second pattern uniform, popularly termed the 'Raider' uniform, was also used as late as 1958 by the newly raised Force Recon units.

## HELMET COVERS

One piece of camouflaged 'uniform' which remained popular, and in widespread use right up to the late 1960s, was the US Marine camouflage helmet cover. This appeared in three versions before the end of World War II.

The first was widely issued in 1943. It was made of the same herringbone twill material as the utility uniform, and



*'Somewhere in the Pacific' — two US Marine Raiders display a trophy from the Solomons battles. Both wear first pattern two-piece camouflaged utilities, and first pattern helmet covers. Their weapons are the M55 (left) and the M50 (right) Reising sub-machine guns. (US National Archives).*



printed with the same reversible camouflage patterns. It was shaped to cover the M1 helmet shell, and its lower edge was cut in six deep lappets or 'ears'. The cover was slipped over the helmet shell and the lappets tucked up inside, holding the cover secure when the shell was replaced over the fibre helmet liner. The two rear

lappets were often left hanging loose as a neck curtain. The second pattern, which also saw service from the turn of 1943/44, was identical except for having two rows of horizontal hem-stitched 'button-hole'-type slits spaced around the sides, up to 6in. from the lower edge, for the attachment of local foliage camouflage.

The third pattern or 'sniper' cover also appeared before the end of 1943: note the accompanying photograph of Evans Carlson wearing one on Tarawa that November. This was made of a lighter cotton material, with the 'greens' camouflage pattern on the outside, but was non-reversible. It had a green cotton loop around

*Sau Diego, 1941 — men of the 1st Parachute Bn. preparing for a practice jump. All wear the first pattern parachutist's smock in plain green, over green utilities. Note the small external pockets visible on the faces of the left hip pad/cargo pockets. (US National Archives)*

the base of the skull, stitched in place at intervals, for foliage attachment. It also had an integral face veil of camouflage printed net attached to the bottom edge, with tapes at the bottom of the veil for securing it to the neck or shoulders.

During World War II the use of the black-stencilled Corps eagle, globe and anchor badge



*US Marine command personnel on Tarawa, November 1943. Standing central with uncovered helmet, holding map, is Col. David Shoup, 2nd Marine Division (later to become Commandant of the Corps). He is talking to a captain who — most unusually — wears rank bars pinned to his first pattern helmet cover. Behind them, in shadow here, is Col. Merritt 'Red Mike' Edson, formerly CO of the 1st Raider Battalion. Sitting centre foreground is Lt. Col. Evans Carlson, of 2nd Raider Bn. fame; he wears the so-called 'sniper's' helmet cover with integral camouflage band and mosquito/camouflage net. Note at right mixed use of camouflaged and uncamouflaged utilities. (US National Archives)*





*Detail of the left pocket, stencil, elbow and hip pads of the first pattern parachutist's smock.*

on helmet covers was not uncommon, but as yet unofficial.

While not strictly an item of uniform, it is worth noting that US Marine shelter halves in reversible camouflage material appeared early in 1943; late in that year a camouflaged poncho in rubberised material was produced. These, and the helmet cover, were the only camouflaged items in general use by the Marine infantry formations by spring 1945.

### US MARINE PARATROOP SMOCKS

The US Marine Parachute Troops — known during World War II as 'Paramarines', a term later dropped because of its modern connotation of 'something less than real Marines' — began formation on 28 May 1941 with Company A; the 1st Parachute

Battalion did not complete formation until 28 March 1942. Four battalions were eventually formed, of which only the first three were operational by the time these units were disbanded in January/February 1944. The paratroopers (grouped as 1st Parachute Regiment in April 1943) first saw action in the Guadalcanal and Tulagi fighting of August 1942 (1st Battalion). They never made a combat jump, but fought with distinction as infantry in the Solomons. (Two combat jumps, at Kolombangara and Kavieng, were in fact planned, but subsequently cancelled.)

Despite the fact that they were eventually committed to action as infantry, the 'Paramarines' were issued during their existence with at least three distinct patterns of jump smock, apparently worn only

during training in the United States. Quartermaster records in the US National Archives appear to be incomplete, and the researcher is limited to surviving garments and a small number of photographs.

#### First Pattern Jump Smock

The 'smock, parachutist, HBT, sage-green' appeared before the United States entered the war, being designed during 1941. From the outset it was believed that the paratroopers would need specially designed clothing; and rather than the two-piece uniform developed for the US Army Airborne, the USMC favoured a step-in type of smock based on photographs of those worn by the German Fallschirmjäger. While the first pattern was not camouflage-printed, later camouflaged patterns cannot be discussed in isolation from this original design.

The first smock, which was intended to be worn over either the wool shirt and trousers or the 1942 plain sage-green utilities, was made of plain olive drab herringbone twill material. It had short integral legs reaching to mid-thigh; and the frontal fastening was by means of a full-length throat-to-crotch zipper. The back was of 'bi-swing' design, with vertical pleats each side. The sleeves had cuff bands adjustably fastened by a single dull bronze metal 'US MARINE CORPS' button. The elbows and upper forearms were protected by large external cushion pads made of horsehide covered with tan canvas and cross-stitched to the sleeves.

On each side of the lower part of the smock, extending from the upper hip to the lower thigh, was a large pocket again made of tan canvas, the rounded bottom edge extending below the edge of the legs. These were closed at the top by horizontal zippers; and for the jump removable horsehide inserts were worn in the pockets to protect the hips. On landing the inserts could be removed and the pockets used for 'cargo'. Some photographs and surviving examples have an additional tan pocket mounted on the outside face of the left hand thigh pocket, closed by a flap and glove-snap.

The smock was further provided with two front and one rear external upper pockets. The right hand chest pocket measured 6½in. wide x 7in. deep; it had 'bellows' pleats at the front, and was secured by a square-cut 6½in. x 3½in. flap closed by three plain black glove-snaps. The left hand chest pocket was smaller, 6in. wide x 3½in. deep, again sewn on externally, with side 'bellows' for expansion; the square-cut flap, 6in. x 2½in., closed by two black glove-snaps. The eagle, globe and anchor badge was stencilled in black above 'USMC' on the left chest above the pocket, the 'USMC' sometimes being applied to the pocket flap itself. It is uncertain if these chest pockets were intended for specific contents, but it is worth noting that the smaller, left hand pocket exactly holds two first aid dressings.

The pocket on the upper rear of the smock is unusual. It may have been intended simply as a cargo pocket, but it has been suggested that it was provided to accommodate a small radio for ship-to-shore communications when operating in the pathfinder role: the US Navy/Marine Corps RBZ radio receiver fits the pocket perfectly. It measures 10in. wide x 8in. deep, is sewn on externally with side expansion 'bellows', and is secured by a 10in. x 4in. top flap closed with three black glove-snaps. [M]

**To be continued:** Part 3 will describe and illustrate the subsequent camouflaged patterns of the Paramarine jump smock.

#### Captions to photographs pp.12-13:

- (A) Front view, jacket, second pattern two-piece camouflage uniform, c.1944; note flotation bladder in chest pocket.
- (B) US Marine button detail, jacket cuff, second pattern two-piece camouflage uniform.
- (C) Front view, trousers, second pattern two-piece camouflage uniform.
- (D) Rear pocket detail, trousers, second pattern two-piece camouflage uniform.
- (E) Front view, first pattern uncamouflaged Marine parachutist's smock.
- (F) Rear pocket detail, first pattern uncamouflaged Marine parachutist's smock.





C



A



B





D



F



E



# Phaeton's Chariot (s): The Mystery of Napoleon's Waterloo Carriage (1)

ANTHONY DE LA POER

**I**t was as fatal to him as the chariot of the sun had been to Phaeton. The vehicle remains, but what has become of the charioteer?

*William Bullock, 1816 (1)*

The original intention behind the present article had been to prepare a short illustrated history of a military carriage once displayed at Madame Tussaud's Exhibition in London. This vehicle, a specially constructed *berline dormeuse*, accompanied the Emperor Napoleon on his last campaign, and had been captured during the closing stages of the battle of Waterloo. Thanks to the generous encouragement of the Exhibition's archivist, the project appeared reasonably straightforward. Unfortunately, or so it seemed at the time, a satisfactory illustration

of the rear of the vehicle could not be found. There was, of course, Edward Croft's famous if imaginative painting in the Walker Gallery in Liverpool, *On the evening of the Battle of Waterloo*, depicting a carriage with a marked resemblance to that in the Tussaud photographs. Sadly, the artist has left no notes to authenticate this carriage as a copy of the original, and much detail is obscured.

The difficulty prompted the writer to open a correspondence with the well-known military artist and carriage enthusiast, Eugène Lelièvre, who, to the writer's great

delight, produced a photograph of the desired view. At the same time M. Lelièvre suggested that the much quoted account of the circumstances surrounding the carriage's capture was highly suspect. As generations of historians on both sides of the Channel have accepted this version of events when describing the aftermath of the battle, the idea was both startling and intriguing.

Mr Lelièvre supported his contention by forwarding a thoroughly researched paper by the late Max Terrier (2), formerly *conservateur* at the Chateau of Compiègne, published in the *Revue du Louvre* in 1975. (The writer is much indebted to the publishers for permission to draw on this and acknowledges that he has done so extensively.) The result has led not simply to a revision of previously held ideas, but to the realisation that to deal adequately with the *dormeuse* it would be necessary to trace the identity and fate not of one vehicle, but of two. The result of this exercise also casts a much-repeated account of Napoleon's escape from Waterloo firmly into the dust-

bin of history; and does very little for the posthumous reputation of a certain opportunistic Prussian officer.

The story of the capture of Napoleon's carriage has its origins in a verbal report made to Blücher's Chief of Staff, Gen. Gneisenau, by the man who took it, a Major Eugen von Keller (3), who stated that the Emperor had effected a precipitate escape from the vehicle to avoid capture and, in so doing, had 'dropped his hat, sword and mantle'. Gneisenau included the tale in a campaign report produced on Blücher's orders (4). Although the anecdote is established in the folklore of the battle, it raises a number of awkward questions if examined with any rigour.

## VON KELLER'S TALE

The tale of von Keller's exploits received its first public airing in England shortly after his arrival in London later in 1815 accompanied by the *dormeuse*. Immediately after the battle he had despatched the carriage to his wife's home in Dusseldorf; arriving on 25 June, the vehicle was exhibited there before being taken by von Keller across the Channel and sold to the British government, reputedly for £2,500, then a considerable sum. The government speedily decided that it was surplus to requirements, however. The *dormeuse* was received into the King's Mews on 27 November, but negotiations for its resale were soon in hand.

On 19 December Henry Goulburn, writing from Downing Street on behalf of Lord Bathurst, instructed the Clerk of the Stables, William Parker, to 'admit the bearer, Mr. William Bullock, to view the carriage and horses lately belonging to General Bonaparte (5)'. Shortly afterwards: 'Rec'd Dec 23 1815 of



Frontispiece from 'Description of the... Carriage of the late Emperor of France', the pamphlet printed for William Bullock of the London Museum in the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, where the *dormeuse* was exhibited early in 1816. The engraving reflects Maj. von Keller's version of the circumstances of its capture, with Napoleon escaping on horseback beyond the carriage. (Courtesy Madame Tussaud's Archive, London)





A Cruikshank cartoon showing 'a swarm of English bees living in the Imperial Carriage'; Bullock claimed that 110,000 visitors to the London Museum had seen the carriage by March 1816. For what it is worth, this coloured print shows the bodywork as a rich blue with gilt trim. (Courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum)

the Duke of Montrose and Mr. Parker the Travelling Carriage of Gen. Bonaparte together with all its appurtenances and also the four Horses and the Harness. (signed) William Bullock (6). The *dormeuse* thus became a mere curiosity amidst a collection of curiosities at the London Museum situated in the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly.

It was to be a curiosity with a difference. By early March 1816 William Bullock, its proprietor, was claiming that the carriage had been seen by 110,000 visitors. To promote the exhibition he had published a descriptive pamphlet giving the public a synopsis of the carriage's history, details of its structure and its contents at the time of capture, and including an account provided by von Keller himself. The latter reviewed the events up to and immediately after the capture of Genappe (7):

'The General of Infantry, Count Gneisenau gave personal orders to Major von Keller, to pursue the flying enemy

without intermission. The hero Gneisenau remained constantly at the head of the pursuers. At eleven o'clock at night the troops arrived at the barricaded town of Jenappe, and in defiance of a fire of artillery and musketry which the enemy maintained, they stormed and took the town. At the entrance of Jenappe, Major von Keller met the travelling carriage of Bonaparte with six horses. The postilion and the two leaders were killed by the bayonets of the fusiliers. The Major then cut down the coachman, and forced open the door of the carriage. At that moment he observed Bonaparte mounting a horse at the opposite side. In his precipitation, Napoleon let fall his hat, sword and mantle; which were sent to Prince Blücher the next morning. The Major then took possession of the carriage and afterwards brought it to England himself and sold it to the Government...'

Von Keller went on to acknowledge the part played by his fellow officers, naming Capt. von Humbracht, Lieut. von Oetlinger (sic), von Rosen, von Dork (sic) and von Kunzel, 'who had particularly distinguished themselves.'

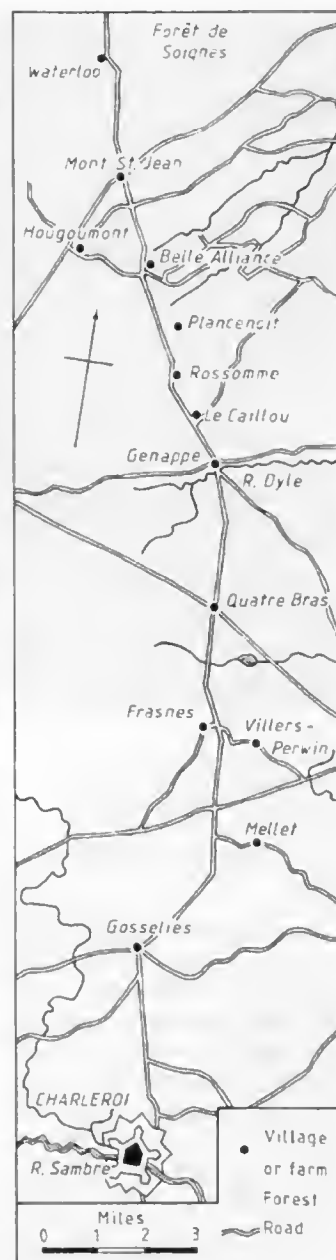
To the descriptive pamphlet mentioned above, Bullock added a further publication. This purported to be an

account of the career of an individual named Jean Hornn who claimed that he had been the Emperor's coachman and had been present when the *dormeuse* was captured (8). He was to be seen in person at the London Museum, along with the four surviving horses, as a kind of supporting exhibit.

### JEAN HORNN'S TALE

It must have come as something of a shock to von Keller to find that Hornn was still living. The brave Major's stated reasons for the killing of the postilion and the lead horses and for the cutting down of the coachman were that he had not been obeyed when he ordered the carriage to halt (9). Jean Hornn gave a rather different version of events. He recalled:

'The night was coming on and Hornn endeavoured to reach Jenappe; but its entrance was barricaded. He then determined to quit the road, and drive round the town; but he had not proceeded many yards before he found the field as impassable as the road and he therefore made up his mind to remain in this place with the carriage; but he had been there scarcely a moment before some Prussian lancers accompanied by infantry came on with great impetuosity. As Hornn was unarmed he thought they would be content with taking



him prisoner; but, they drove their lances into his back, shot him in the legs and in the right arm; cut off two of his fingers, and having inflicted ten wounds upon him, he fell senseless and was left for dead.'

He went on to relate that on recovering consciousness he found himself stripped. He managed to crawl into one of the houses in Genappe, already filled with wounded, remaining there for six days without treatment. On the sixth day an unnamed British officer took an interest in his plight and had him removed to a hospital in Brussels where his right arm was amputated. A month later he was sent with a batch of prisoners to Ostend and from there, on being released, walked to Paris (10).





The *dormeuse* on display in the 'Napoleon Room' at Madame Tussaud's, where it remained from 1842 until it was destroyed in a fire in 1925. (Courtesy Madame Tussaud's Archive)

At this point it seems only right to indicate a certain mystery surrounding Jean Hornn himself. There are two aspects of his story that are impossible to verify. The first is that there is no record of his name in the Imperial Archives, those of the King or even of the Master of Horse for the years 1814 to 1815. The second concerns his precise function. He claimed to have been the Emperor's coachman<sup>(11)</sup> but the *dormeuse* was harnessed 'en poste', i.e. it was driven by mounted postilions. The so-called coachman's seat (as referred to in the exhibition synopsis) was, in fact, nothing of the kind. When the Emperor used his carriage it was customary for this seat to be occupied by his *mameluk* (body servant). In 1815 this individual was Ali, otherwise known as Louis Etienne Saint-Denis, a native of Versailles. That Ali was not with the carriage when it was taken is one indication that the Emperor was elsewhere at the time.

In spite of these uncertainties Hornn's account is remarkably similar to that which was to be provided at a court of enquiry conducted over ten years later into the extent of the looting carried out

by the Prussians in the aftermath of the battle<sup>(12)</sup>. In a separate affidavit Hornn states that when the carriage was captured it was in a field about 30 paces from the road<sup>(13)</sup>. This, when coupled with his resolve 'to remain where he was because he found the field impassable', gives the impression that he was at least an eye-witness to the events that followed. However, the reader will have been struck by the fact that he makes no mention at all of the Emperor's presence in the *dormeuse* at the time of its capture — which, given the circumstances in which he found himself when attending the exhibition, might seem strange. It must be assumed that he made his deposition (which was under oath) before he was aware of von Keller's claims. It might also be added that Hornn was unable to speak English and his story was the product of translation.

#### BLÜCHER'S PRIZE

It is now necessary to return to the Tuesday after Waterloo. On 20 June Blücher wrote to his wife giving her news of the victory: '...The richly embroidered state mantle belonging to Napoleon and his carriage are in our hands. The carriage I am sending to you. I am only sorry that it has been damaged. Its contents and valuables were looted by the troops. Nothing remains of its horses and har-

ness. Many soldiers carried away booty to the value of five or six thousand thalers. He (Napoleon) was being conveyed in the carriage when he was discovered by our troops. He jumped out without his sword and, on mounting his horse, dropped his hat<sup>(14)</sup>'.

From this letter it is clear that the Emperor's carriage had the useful property of being in two countries at once, since it was already on its way to von Keller's wife in Düsseldorf... In fact, the carriage to which Blücher was referring was not the *dormeuse* but a *landau*, which had been presented to him that day by none other than von Keller. The latter had described the manner of its capture, while carefully omitting any mention of the *dormeuse*<sup>(15)</sup>. Neither had the last occupant of the *landau* been Napoleon, either.

Fortunately for our purposes, Napoleon's valet Marchand recorded his experiences of travelling in this vehicle up to the time that it was captured. His carriage, he said, 'had to proceed at a walking pace as had all the others in that road. I had thought, none the less, that we were safe until, on arriving at Quatre Bras, the obstructions were such as to make the road impassable. The enemy delayed to loot the last carriages and my own being thus threatened I promptly opened the *nécessaire* and took possession of

300,000 francs in bank notes and placing them under my uniform against my chest I abandoned everything else<sup>(16)</sup>'.

Blücher, meanwhile, imagined that he was the exclusive owner of the very vehicle in which Napoleon had so nearly been captured. Doubtless, as time passed, he would have become aware of the existence of the *dormeuse* in view of the publicity that was to surround it. He may even have believed that the second carriage (the *dormeuse*) was no more than a cheap confidence trick. His doubts, if he had any, were to be suppressed. He would certainly have had some difficulty in admitting that one of his subordinates, a Prussian officer, had tricked him<sup>(17)</sup>. The legend of the *landau's* capture survived within the Blücher family, as was demonstrated when, in 1902, the vehicle was offered as a coronation gift to King Edward VII. The British Military Attaché in Berlin, writing to the King's Private Secretary, stated: '...He (Prince Gebhard von Blücher) would be very pleased if the King would accept it and that some label like the enclosed be attached to it'... 'It is the identical carriage out of which the Emperor Napoleon jumped after the battle of Waterloo leaving his hat, coat and sword inside...' (18). As matters turned out the gift was not made, and the *landau* was eventually presented to the National Museum at Malmaison by Count Blücher von Wahlstatt in 1975<sup>(19)</sup>.

#### UNRAVELLING THE EVIDENCE

That Napoleon rode off the battlefield as far as Genappe is undisputed history. Many writers, when accepting von Keller's story as fact, have adapted it to the course of events. Thus the Emperor is portrayed as discovering his *dormeuse* (a heavy carriage) by chance among the abandoned vehicles in the village and deciding (against reason) to use it. Given the circumstances of the retreat at this point, and his knowledge of the area, this decision seems to stretch credibility. Where, then, was Napoleon during those final



hours of Waterloo — and where were his carriages?

When Napoleon set out on a campaign it was customary for his baggage to include three divisions of personal transport. These were a '*voiture de poste*', traditionally a heavy *berline coupé*; a '*calèche de service léger*', an open carriage; and thirdly, his brigades of saddle horses <sup>(20)</sup>.

#### The serial numbers

In preparation for the 1812 Russian campaign a *berline coupé* was ordered from Goeting (Goeting), the Emperor's favourite coachbuilder. It was registered as a *dormeuse*, but Napoleon referred to it as a '*chaise de poste*' — his adaptation of the English terminology 'post chaise'. (It was a curious choice, for in France at that time such words indicated a two-wheeled vehicle.) The *dormeuse's* particular design enabled a traveller to continue his journey both day and night; as did the second vehicle, that of the *service léger*, which was to be a *landau* in the place of the *calèche*. Both carriages were harnessed 'en poste' <sup>(21)</sup>.

It is stated in William Bullock's pamphlet that the captured *dormeuse* was that which had been built for the Russian campaign by Symons of Brussels. This would appear to be incorrect; there were, in fact, three identical vehicles ordered from Goeting (not Symons) between 1812 and 1815. The first (428/300 <sup>(22)</sup>) was delivered on 5 March 1812, two months before Napoleon's departure for Russia. A second *dormeuse* (466/336) was ordered, no doubt before his return to Paris; it was delivered on 18 March 1813. Neither of these vehicles was available in 1815, as the first had left for Vienna with the Empress Marie Louise, the second for St. Tropez and the island of Elba with Napoleon; this last is almost certainly the vehicle which had to be abandoned at Grasse in March 1815. The third vehicle (/389), that captured by the Prussians, was built by Goeting in a matter of weeks — a quite exceptional feat. The order has been established as having been given in April 1815, with the stipulation 'similar to 336', and the delivery was made on the 30th of



that month <sup>(23)</sup>.

The *landau* (429/301) was ordered from Goeting in January 1812, to be built 'on the same lines as a *calèche* in the form of a *landau*.' It survived the Russian campaign, in which the Imperial stables lost some 62 vehicles. Thereafter it seems to have been retired until Napoleon returned from Elba. Captured at Waterloo with four other vehicles of the Emperor's baggage including the *berline dormeuse*, the *landau* came into the possession of the Blücher family as described above. There is no doubt as to its identity as it still bears the number '429', which it had been allocated in 1812, stamped on the wheel bosses. The number '301', which is painted on the front axle, is that of the new numbering for 1813. These numbers conform to those in the General Register of the Imperial Stables.

#### The 1815 campaign

On 17 June 1815 the Emperor established his headquarters at the farmhouse of Le Caillou situated on the Brussels to Charleroi road, which on the following day was to become the focal point for his non-combatant staff and baggage train. Among those of his staff present were the Duke of Bassano (Minister of Foreign Affairs) and Fleury de Chaboulon, one of Napoleon's secretaries, who were destined to share the 'Cabinet' *berline*

(vehicle containing state papers) during the retreat. Also present was Marchand, Napoleon's valet, who was to occupy the *landau*.

The baggage, with the exception of the *dormeuse*, had been placed under the protection of a battalion of the First Chasseurs commanded by Maj. Duuring. Napoleon noted in his Waterloo commentary: 'Among the vehicles that they (i.e. the enemy) took was the Emperor's post-chaise in which he had not ridden since Avesnes. The general practice was that on the battlefield it followed behind the reserves of the Guard. It always carried a dressing-case, a change of clothing, a sword, a greatcoat and an iron bed <sup>(24)</sup>.'

Jean Hornn stated that he 'was posted close to a hamlet of three or four houses called La Belle Alliance.' The latter is situated two or three kilometres to the north of Le Caillou, and Hornn tells us that he 'waited in vain for an order to retreat.' However, 'perceiving that the whole of the French troops were falling back in great disorder he began to retreat with the carriage. In a few moments it was one extended scene of confusion. The road was blocked with cannon and waggons and the infantry, cavalry and artillery were mingled in one indiscriminate mass <sup>(25)</sup>.'

Though probably not a witness to the capture of the

The *landau* on display at the National Museum, Chateau de Malmaison, to which it was presented by Blücher's descendants in 1975. (National Museum, Paris)

*dormeuse*, the *mameluk* Ali <sup>(26)</sup> actually names the postilion Hornn (sic) as being in the company of *Premier Piqueur* Thomas Archambault at the time the carriage was abandoned <sup>(27)</sup>. Archambault had charge of the *dormeuse's* keys, which are today at Malmaison and bear his authentication: 'These six keys belonged to the Emperor Napoleon's carriage which I was forced to abandon on the road to Quatre Bras on the 18th June 1815, the day of the battle of Waterloo, at eight o'clock in the evening <sup>(28)</sup>.'

From the reference to 'the road to Quatre Bras' it might seem reasonable to suppose that the *dormeuse* had left Belle Alliance before eight o'clock. It might also seem reasonable to speculate that Archambault (a devoted follower of Napoleon who shared both exiles) would not have failed to ensure that the carriage was locked before he left it. It would certainly explain why von Keller had to force one of the *dormeuse's* doors. It is, however, difficult to imagine how he might have achieved this at the time of capture had the Emperor barricaded one door while escaping through the other. The doors were bulletproof, and fitted with bolts.



## THE LANDAU

The vehicle abandoned at Quatre Bras by the valet Marchand, which subsequently fell into the hands of the opportunist Maj. von Keller, and was presented to Blücher two days later.

The *landau*, which had been adopted in 1812 for the 'service-léger', was of a generation of vehicles new to the Imperial Stables — indeed, to the French carriage world as a whole. It acted as a kind of *berline* in which the upper parts could be folded towards the front and rear and the uprights for the windows were collapsible and could be stored away. Convertibles incorporating this difficult type of construction were almost unknown in France at the time. Although *landaus* had been a great success in London during the last decade of the 18th century they were still so little known in Paris that in 1808 the famous Duchesne, on publishing a sketch, called it a '*londeau*'. In 1815 the *Almanach des Modes* declared: 'The *Landau*, a cross between a *Berline* and a *calèche*, is a ridiculous hybrid of a vehicle. When divided it looks as though it has been torn apart, the two halves falling to the front and rear like bellows.' However it may have appeared to fashion-conscious Parisians, its military uses were considerable, as it incorporated sleeping facilities as well as all round vision when required.

The carriage, ordered in January 1812, was designed to exacting specifications in anticipation of the rigours of the forthcoming Russian campaign. Like the *dorneuse* the order for the *landau* was placed with Goetting, whose most notable commissions had included the Emperor's coronation coach and the principal vehicles used for his marriage to the Archduchess Marie Louise of Austria in 1810. In the event the *landau* was delivered late, much to the fury of Caulincourt, Napoleon's Master of Horse. It eventually caught up with the Grande Armée at Vilna.

As with the *dorneuse*, the *landau* was harnessed '*en poste*', the coachman's seat being occupied by the duty *mameluk* when the Emperor used the vehicle. The carriage was originally equipped with a collapsible steel bed and a leather-covered boot similar to that supplied with the *dorneuse*. These, the trunk, the four lanterns originally positioned just below the roof, and that which covered the rear window (*hnette*) to provide internal illumination, disappeared at the time of its capture; the two lanterns at present fixed to the bodywork are later additions. The hoods are arranged so as to be folded back or closed creating a water-tight seal. The front of this flexible covering is pierced to admit two large plate-glass windows.

The conversion of this carriage for sleeping purposes was achieved by opening a panel on the right hand side in front of the passenger seat. The panel was lowered, drawing out a retractable tube of leather which extended into a sort of shoe into which the traveller's legs could be stretched.

The front and side windows are provided with adjustable and removable Venetian shutters, and it is

fairly certain that there were once spring-controlled roller blinds on the inside, though these have disappeared.

The body of the vehicle is dark red in colour — '*sang de bouef*' or, as the wags of the period would have it, '*puce écrasée*' ('squashed flea'). The undercarriage, which is able to turn through 90 degrees, is painted *amarante* red highlighted with gold, with some of the ironwork completely gilded.

The panels of the bodywork are flush, the openings for the doors being hardly apparent. The line of the exterior decoration is uninterrupted and displays the full coat of arms of the Empire on the doors and a small Imperial crown placed centrally in each of the three panels adjacent to the doors.

Above and below each panel is a frieze ornament in the form of a garland of gilded foliage. Framing the frieze is a trim of silvered metalwork, with further trims picking out the doors, windows, the '*hnette*' and the outline of the '*tambour*' below it. The paintwork was probably by Gautier, appointed 'Painter of the Emperor's Carriages' in late 1809.

The *landau's* present-day appearance mirrors its condition following its capture in 1815. Still retaining its original numerical identity as it appeared in the general register of the Imperial Stables, it is the only surviving vehicle known to do so. It was presented to the National Museum at Malmaison by Count Blücher von Wahlstatt in 1975. (See Max Terrier, op. cit., pp. 107-118 *passim*.)

## Notes

(1) William Bullock, *A description of the Costly and Curious Carriage of the late Emperor of France etc.*, London Museum, Piccadilly, 1816 — courtesy of Madame Tussaud's Exhibition.

(2) Max Terrier, *Le Landau de Napoleon et son histoire*, pub. La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France (1975 No. 2 pp. 105-116) — courtesy of La Revue du Louvre.

(3) Heinrich Eugen, Baron von Keller, 1783-1842. Somewhat surprisingly Max Terrier refers to von Keller as a lieutenant. His regimental records — *Offizier Stammliste Des Infanterie Regiments Prinz Friedrich Der Niederlande (2. Westfälischen) nr. 15* — show him

## Below

Rear angle view of the *landau*. (National Museum, Paris)





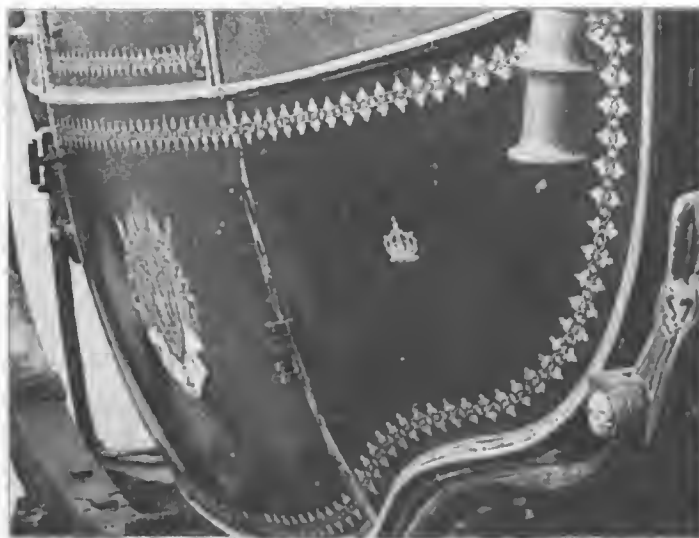
to have joined the regiment and obtained his majority on 10 April 1815.

(4) Gen. Gourgaud, *Campagne de Dix-Huit Cent Quinze*, Plancher, 1818, p. 198. Report made to Field-Marshal Blücher by Gen. Gneisenau.

(5) RA.MOH.LB.D.276. Published by gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen.

(6) RA.MOH.LB.D.278. Published by gracious permission of Her Majesty The Queen.

Front view of the landau; and detail of the painting on the bodywork — a dark red 'ox blood' ground, with gilt foliate frieze inside silvered metal trim; full-colour presentation of the Imperial arms on the door, and gilt crowns on the other three panels. (National Museum, Paris)



(7) Bullock, pp. 11-13.

(8) Narrative of Jean Hornn, military coachman to Napoleon Bonaparte; London Museum, Piccadilly, 1816 — courtesy of Madame Tussaud's Exhibition.

(9) Bullock, p. 10.

(10) Hornn, p. 57.

(11) Hornn, p. 4-5.

(12) Terrier p. 105, 'Die Erbeutung des Napoleon-Wagens am Abend der Schlacht bei Belle-Alliance' ('The looting of Napoleon's carriages on the evening of the battle of Belle Alliance') by Julius Krebs, pub. in *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte Schlesiens* (Historical Journal of Silesia) 35ter Band, p. 94: Breslau, 1919.

(13) Hornn, p. 62.

(14) Terrier, p. 116, *Blüchers Briefe*, Stuttgart und Berlin, 1913.

(15) Maj. W. E. Frye, *After Waterloo — Reminiscences of European Travel 1815-1819*, William Heinemann, 1908, p. 28.

'Napoleon, it is said, narrowly escaped being taken. His carriage fell into the hands of the Allies and was escorted in triumph into Bruxelles (sic) by a detachment of dragoons.' (Letter dated 23 June).

(16) Terrier, p. 114, *Memoires de Marchand*, Plon, vol. I, p. 165.

(17) Terrier, p. 116.

(18) RA.Vic.W62/53. Published by gracious permission of Her Majesty The Queen.

(19) In 1918 a dispute was settled in the Silesian courts between the brothers, Prince Gebhardt and Count Lothar von Blücher, whereby it was decided that the Count was the legal owner of the landau.

(20) Terrier, *Memoires du Baron Fain*, Plon, 1908, p. 203.

(21) Terrier, p. 106.

(22) Terrier, p. 107. The numbers allocated to vehicles in the Imperial Stables register were placed in parenthesis. The original number was placed first followed by the new numbering introduced at the beginning of 1813. No. 389 does not appear in the general register as it was only purchased during the 'Hundred Days'. (French National Archives 02 83).

(23) Terrier, p. 111. The *dormeuse* cost 10,832 francs to build in 1815 with a further 1,832 francs for accessories. The Bank of England 'Course of the Exchange' gives a rate of 1 franc : 1.01 shillings for that year.

(24) Napoleon, *Memoire pour servir à l'histoire de France en 1815*, p. 440, Paris, Chez Barrois l'Ainé, 1820; also *The Waterloo Campaign* ed. & trans. Somerset de Chair, p. 137, The Folio Society, 1957.

(25) Hornn, pp. 56-27.

(26) Terrier, p. 113, *Souvenirs du Mameluk Ali*, Payot, 1926, p. 112; also, Louis Etienne Saint-Denis, *Napoleon from the Tuilleries to St. Helena*, Harper & Bros, 1922, p. 132-133. St. Denis and Archambault both accompanied Napoleon to St. Helena and would doubtless have discussed the capture of the *dormeuse*.

(27) The duties of a *piqueur* varied from huntsman to overseer of stables, escort for remounts, and carriage outrider.

(28) Terrier, p. 113.

To be continued

MI



# The First BEF Gas Respirators, 1915 (2)

SIMON JONES

The first part of this article (*MF* No. 32) described and illustrated the first gas attacks on the Ypres Salient in April/May 1915; the initial improvised and official respirator pads; the 'Hypo Helmet'; and the experience of units which came under gas attack protected by these hastily devised expedients. This concluding part carries the story through to December 1915.

The real test of the Black Veiling Respirator was to come at 2 a.m. on 24 May, when a massive chlorine attack was made against the Ypres Salient. The volume and density of gas far exceeded the fears of British scientists. Around 46 battalions were exposed to the gas, which enveloped a front of four and a half miles. Three miles behind the lines the greenish-yellow clouds blotted trees and houses from view, and gas was noticed six miles away.

The anti-gas measures were nothing like sufficient to save the lives of all those in danger. Many, such as the 3rd Royal Fusiliers (85th Brigade, 28th Division), still had not been issued with the Black Veiling Respirator and had only less efficient locally improvised versions:

'By 8 a.m. our fire trenches were occupied by the Germans, all the officers being wounded and the majority of the men gassed or wounded (a large number of the men had only the small old fashioned respirator, which proved of little use)' (13).

Some men had no respirator at all, having mislaid it or never having been issued with one. In some cases part or all of the cotton waste had been lost from the gauze pocket, rendering the respirator less effective or useless. One victim who had his respirator in his tunic pocket was gassed because he was wearing his greatcoat and equipment when the attack commenced. The medical officer of the 1st Royal Irish Fusiliers (10th Bde., 4th Div.),

Lt. C. Molan, reported favourably on the Hypo Helmet, stating that 'Its good effect was apparent in a few minutes', but others in the battalion could not be used owing to cracked windows. The difficulty of training all ranks in how to wear their respirators was made plain to Lt. Molan:

'About 7.30 a.m. two men of the RIF suffering badly from gas came to my dressing station — I saw they had not on their masks, and asked why — they said "We have them round our necks" — evidently they were too stupid to wear them over their mouths and nose.'

Considerable effort had been made in the 2nd Royal Dublin Fusiliers (10th Bde., 4th Div.) to ensure that the men were properly prepared for a gas attack. In the evening the battalion commander, Lt. Col. Loveband, had checked that all men had their gauze and

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NEED NO MOISTENING—READY FOR USE.

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These three layers are surrounded by gauze-covered cotton wool, which prevents the medicaments from coming into contact with the skin.

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cotton waste respirators (the machine-gunners also had Hypo Helmets) and that they had all been dampened with hypo solution. Respirators were all carried in pockets, mostly in waterproof bags, not tied around caps where they would dry out; and all men had been instructed on how to use them. Lt. Col. Loveband had

Advertisement for the ineffective Boots the Chemist respirators: *Daily Mail*, 26 July 1915.

Below:

British walking wounded wear their respirators for a press photograph, May/early June 1915. The two on the left have the Black Veiling type, the man on the right a smaller improvised version, possibly a War Office cotton wool respirator.





warned all his company officers to be prepared for a gas attack. The medical officer, Capt. Russell, also warned each company about damping their respirators. When the gas came over no one was caught asleep, as that morning's Stand To had just been completed and the men were being given their rum. Despite Loveband's shout of 'Get your respirators, boys, here comes the gas!', most got them on only in the nick of time.

The wind was no more than a gentle breeze and the dense clouds took about three quarters of an hour to pass over. Yet the respirators would only stop the gas for about five minutes — they then lost their power of absorption and needed to be resoaked in the solution. Many men gradually became stupefied and forgot to squeeze out their respirators after dipping; thus they were too sodden to be breathed through, and 'In this way many men practically suffocated themselves', stated Russell. He had to move around the trenches with Loveband and Capt. Leahy compelling the men to squeeze their respirators dry. Russell saw badly gassed men blue in the face, breathing very rapidly and in many cases vomiting. Yet he reported that no one died of gassing in the trenches. Capt. Leahy claimed that after the chlorine had passed over the fire trenches were still strongly held and capable of resistance.

This was a battalion where the primitive gas measures were carried out pretty much as well as they could have been. One 2nd Lt. Moran was described as 'off his head with gas'. Lt. Gerald Tarleton, 'mad with gas and badly hit', crawled to battalion headquarters with the news that his company had only one man every five yards able to fire a rifle.<sup>(14)</sup> The effect of the gas combined with infantry attacks and brutal shelling had a dreadful effect on the 2nd Royal Dublin Fusiliers, and their trenches were captured when there was no one left to defend them.

#### THE PHENATE HELMET

During the lull which followed this attack, the worst fear of the

*Men of the 1st Cameronians wear facemask respirators and operate a Vermorel Sprayer — an adapted agricultural sprayer by which 'hypo' solution could be sprayed to neutralise puddles of gas remaining in trenches. The facemask was an intermediate respirator between the Black Veiling Respirator and the Hypo Helmet, consisting of a cotton waste pad fixed inside a mask with cellulose eyepieces. (Imperial War Museum Q51647)*

chemical experts was that the Germans would attack with a gas against which the hypo-dipped helmets and respirators would be of no use. Research in the UK centred at the Royal Army Medical College at Millbank, London, under the direction of an Army Professor of Hygiene, Lt. Col. Percy S. Lelean. From the list of gases which the Germans might use, which at one point exceeded 70, two became prominent: prussic acid and phosgene. Both were far more poisonous than chlorine and presented a great problem. The solution most favoured by the scientists — of layers of different filtering materials in box form — was rejected by the Army as too radical a departure from the design already in production, which would cause delay at a time when a new attack was expected at any time. The search was therefore for a chemical which could be added to the Hypo Helmet to protect against a host of potential war gases.

To cope with this task an apparatus was devised at Millbank to simulate a man breathing through an impregnated helmet, feeding the filtered air instead to a rat. If the rat survived a pig, and then a human volunteer, would test the helmet. Lelean later paid tribute to the small group of scientists working under him:

'Every one had at one time or another been incapacitated by an overdose of the simpler gases, but there was no time to do more than lay the victim on a bed that was kept ready in the laboratory; give oxygen and administer chloroform vapour... But the victim was no sooner on his feet again than he was back at his special work,



shaken and ghastly, but resolute... In the lethal chamber itself many acrid gases had so corroded the fittings that no light could be turned on... But beyond the heavily-curtained door there was always a helmeted colleague counting the minutes, and ascertaining by shouts or knocks that the inmate had not collapsed'.<sup>(15)</sup>

Keeping in contact independently of the military channels, Professors Baker in England and Mouat Jones in France discovered the properties of one protective chemical simultaneously. Mouat Jones was working in the high school at St. Omer, now equipped as the Central Laboratory, GHQ; but the letter carrying news of his discovery went unopened and forgotten by Baker, who was suffering from fatigue and overwork. In a few days Baker discovered the properties of sodium phenate for himself, during experiments at his home which involved drawing phosgene and chlorine through an impregnated cloth held over his mouth.

A 'Phenate Helmet' was tested by Lelean's staff at Millbank and found to keep out both phosgene and prussic acid. The new helmet was made from two layers of cotton flannelette

because the woollen flannel of the Hypo Helmet was rotted by the corrosive chemical. The unreliable rectangular window was replaced by two circular eyepieces held in place by pressed tin rims. Controversy arose from the need to fit the helmet with a valve through which the wearer breathed out; otherwise carbon dioxide diminished the effect against prussic acid. This aroused opposition in the BEF from those with experience of training men in the use of respirators. Breathing in through the nose and out through the valve held in the mouth was believed to be far too complicated a procedure for men to manage during the terror of a gas attack. This was overruled because of the impending danger: definite intelligence was received of a German gas so lethal that Allied masks would be useless. Phosgene was strongly suspected, and the Phenate Helmet therefore became the new gas helmet of the British Army who, for security reasons, referred to it as the 'Tibbe Helmet'.

#### UNSUCCESSFUL RETALIATION

The first use in action of the Phenate Helmet was to



defend British soldiers against their own gas. Soon after the first German attack the British Cabinet gave its consent to Lord Kitchener for the Army to 'use anything he could get invented' (16). British preparations for their first gas attack were as hasty and improvised as those for respirators, and displayed an overestimation of the value of cloud gas in helping the infantry to attack.

'Special Companies' of the Royal Engineers were formed in July 1915 to make the attacks, with a unique mixed establishment of bespectacled chemists and infantrymen with experience of the trenches. Gen. Sir Douglas Haig was enthusiastic about gas and incorporated its use into an unwanted attack that his First Army was to undertake in support of a major French offensive. Smoke bombs, or 'candles', were used to increase the apparent duration of the gas release to 40 minutes, because it was believed that German machine-gunners were equipped with Dräger oxygen breathing apparatus which would be exhausted in half an hour. Haig was warned not to rely on gas for the success of the attack owing to the unpredictable nature of the wind. In case it should be wrong, he planned a lesser alternative, but on the morning of the attack was unable to cancel when the wind changed.

The 80 battalions of assaulting infantry were instructed by First Army that their gas hel-

metts would give them a decisive advantage over the Germans:

'...we must be prepared to take full advantage of the initial surprise, and, in view of the fact that the gas helmets now in the possession of our troops give (however dense the cloud of gas) complete immunity from all ill effects, there is every ground for hoping that, when it

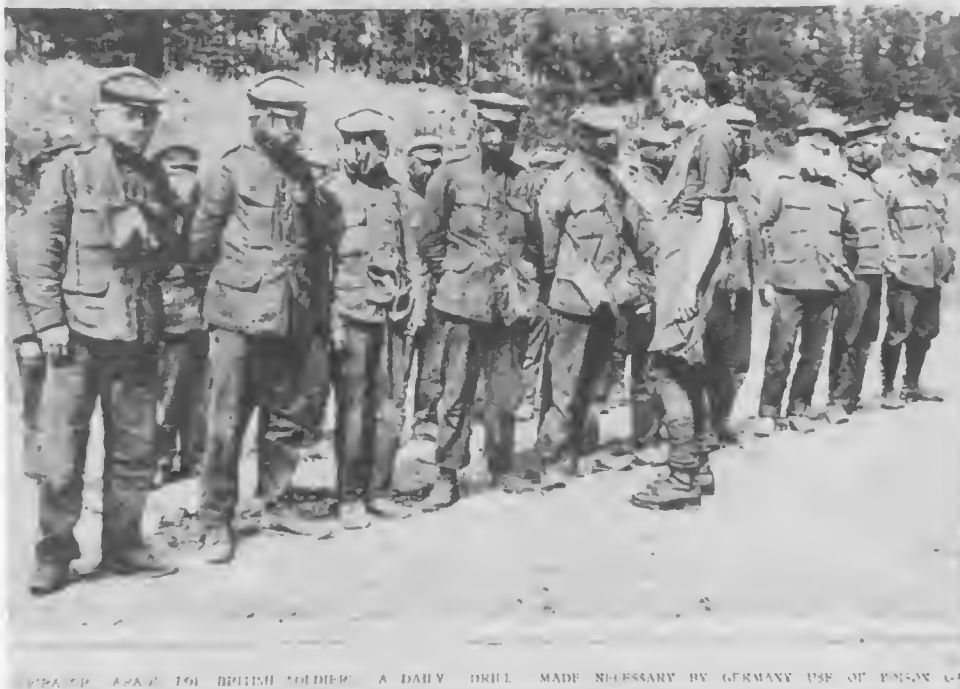
drifted back onto the British.

The instructions from First Army also stated that the older Hypo Helmets were to be worn in preference to the Phenate Helmets, presumably because protection against phosgene would not be required and the men need not bother with the difficulty of using the valve. Many wore the Phenate Helmet on 25

feeling. Many men seem to have mistaken the extreme discomfort of the helmets, the strong chemical smell and throat irritation from the sodium phenate for gas penetrating the fabric.

Thousands of infantry, laden with equipment and preparing to attack, found that before they could even leave their trenches these were filling with chlorine from leaking joints on the cylinder pipes. 'At one time the "jumping off" trench on the Brigade front had the appearance of being half-filled with yellow water, and many wounded men were saved from suffocation with difficulty,' (18)

## THE Illustrated War News



*Lt. Antony Hayton Cowap inspecting Hypo Helmets of the machine gun section of the 5th Cheshires (14th Bde., 5th Div.) at Spoil Bank, north of Ypres, on about 22 June 1915. The rest of this battalion still had the Black Veiling Respirator, machine gunners receiving the helmet before other troops.*

comes to close fighting in the gas areas our troops will have a very great advantage over those of the enemy who remain to resist our advance.' (17)

The gas was released from 5.40 a.m. until zero hour at 6.30 a.m., 25 September from 5,900 cylinders installed in trenches in the mining district around and to the north of Loos. It did indeed cause panic in many places behind the German lines, and the town of Loos was captured. However, in most places the gas failed to reach the German lines, swirled around in no man's land, and then

September despite the instructions, probably because their officers assumed that it was simply the best type. Many men wore their helmets rolled on their heads ready to pull down. The stronger chemicals, mixed with the rain that fell during the early morning, ran down their foreheads and irritated their eyes, even causing blistering to some. Both the Hypo and Phenate Helmets were intensely stuffy for the first ten minutes of wear. In their agitation men forgot to breathe out through the tube valve, which worsened this

*Example of the armbands issued to Royal Engineer Special Company personnel. The dark green, white and red stripes are the colours of Italy, which entered the war on the side of the Allies at the time when the Special Companies were being formed. First issued a few days before the Battle of Loos and used throughout 1916, these marked the gas troops as being allowed to leave the trenches after an attack, so that they would not be ordered 'over the top'. (Royal Engineers Museum)*



wrote Lt. Col. A. C. Northey, commanding the 9th Scottish Rifles (28th Bde., 9th Div.). Lt. F. D. Charles, attached to the Special Companies, witnessed the way attacking infantry worsened their own gassing:

'The infantry in the trenches, finding the heat inside their smoke helmets trying and experiencing some difficulty in breathing, were inclined to draw them up to get a couple of breaths of fresh air, with the result that quite a number were more or less seriously gassed. Directly these men found themselves coughing they wrenched their helmets off and staggered down the trench...' (19)

Infantry had to form up for the attack in clouds of gas and smoke, or would suffer without warning from gas drifting over them. Battalion medical officers were inundated with men in a state of panic, either gassed or, more likely, only under the impression that they were. The cases reporting

to Lt. Lawrence W. Bain, medical officer to the 2nd Highland Light Infantry (5th Bde., 2nd Div.) were not in the main badly gassed, mostly having been caught just before putting on their gas helmets and showed signs of improvement while at the dressing station. 'The men were in a highly excited condition, and many were crying. Those from the Glasgow Highlanders came down in a crowd and were very excited indeed, some still wearing their smoke helmets.' (20)

Of 2,632 British soldiers evacuated as gassed following the 25 September attack, 1,696 were very slight cases and many not gassed at all. Doctors like Lt. S. G. Dixon commanding No. 19 Field Ambulance, 2nd Division, had great difficulty in judging whether men were gassed as so many had a weak or irregular pulse: 'It was not possible to say how far these car-

diac symptoms were attributable to other factors than gas poisoning, such as fatigue, exposure, want of food, and shock.' (21)

Gas attacks followed on 26 September and 13 October without successful advance by the infantry. It was not surprising that gas became yet more unpopular in the BEF after the Battle of Loos.



Some of the original troops formed to carry out 'retaliatory' gas attacks against the Germans: 21st Section, 188 Special Company, Royal Engineers, late 1915. Note the variety of cap badges and equipment from parent units still being worn, though most have received revolver equipment. (Royal Engineers Museum)

Condemnation of the gas helmets was widespread, such as this comment by Capt. E. H. Smythe MC, a staff officer with I Corps: '...It was established that our gas masks... did not afford real protection. I saw numbers of men very much affected despite the fact that they had their gas masks on and a good many of them were stretcher cases.' (22)

GHQ produced a leaflet stating that both British gas and gas helmets were effective. This was a cover-up, because just five days before the Loos attack chemists in France had been unanimous that Phenate Helmets did not protect against high concentrations of chlorine, as would be met when gas had just been released from the cylinder. On 2 October Professor Watson, head of Central Laboratory at GHQ, wrote to Professor Lelean at the Royal Army Medical College at

Millbank: 'I think there is no doubt that quite a large number of the 'P' helmets which have been served out give very indifferent protection against chlorine.' (23) Later in the year scientists from Central Laboratory discovered that much of the testing of helmets at Millbank had been carried out on a machine giving inaccurate readings. (24)

On 19 December phosgene, for which the Phenate Helmet had been prepared, was mixed with chlorine in a German cloud attack at Ypres. All men had by this time been issued with Phenate Helmets and, although some were reported to have fallen to pieces when put on, the remainder performed adequately and the Germans gained no ground. A lance-corporal in the 6th Duke of Wellington's (147th Bde., 49th Div.) shot himself with a revolver after being gassed; but in the 1st King's Shropshire Light Infantry (16th Bde., 6th Div.), once the gas had passed over, A Company were heard to sing:

*We whacked them on the Marne,  
We whacked them on the Aisne,  
Let them come,  
Let them come,  
And they won't come here again.* (25)

British losses reflected the

deadly nature of phosgene, but were considered low in the circumstances: 1,069, of whom 120 were dead.

Enforced improvisation set the form of the British respirator for most of 1916 and the Battle of the Somme. A means of adding an additional chemical to the impregnating solution of the Phenate Helmet was discovered in October by Lt. S.

J. M. Auld in France, and the resulting Phenate-Hexamine Helmet was adopted in January 1916. Cloud gas attacks during 1916 made it clear that this design could not be made to keep out high concentrations, however. The

result was the adoption of a respirator using a box form of filter which had been experimented with since the summer of 1915. Better respirators could only be developed once immediate threats were met, and this was only achieved with the completion of the issue of the Small Box Respirator in April 1917. **MI**

#### Notes:

- (13) PRO WO95/2279.
- (14) PRO WO95/1481.
- (15) *Defensive Science in Gas Warfare* (1920), p.13.
- (16) David, Eed., *Inside Asquith's Cabinet* (London 1977).
- (17) PRO WO95/1629.
- (18) PRO CAB45/120.
- (19) *The History of the London Rifle Brigade 1859-1919* (London 1921), p.354.
- (20) PRO WO142/100.
- (21) *ibid.*
- (22) PRO CAB45/120.
- (23) PRO WO142/156 (CL/10/15).
- (24) PRO WO142/155 (CL/8/15).
- (25) PRO WO95/2801; PRO WO95/1609.



# Autumn Military Miniature Shows



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See captions on page 26

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# Euro-Militaire, Folkestone, September 1990

JOHN REGAN

The fifth annual Euro-Militaire took place over the weekend of 22 and 23 September. The venue was, as in previous years, the superb Leas Cliff Hall built into the face of the white cliffs at Folkestone in Kent, and affording panoramic views over the Channel.

This event is billed by the organisers as 'The World's Greatest International Military Modelling Exhibition' — a claim that might be thought rather extravagant on the face of it, but nevertheless, one that would surely be echoed by the 3,000 visitors who came from all corners of the British Isles and Europe, as well as from across the Atlantic. For years the very idea of a two-day military modelling event had been dismissed as an impractical pipe dream that would founder through lack of support; and modellers owe a huge debt of gratitude for the vision and courage of the two sponsors of the show, Lynn Sangster of Historex Agents and master sculptor Ray Lamb of Poste Militaire who, in considerable trepidation, launched the first show in 1986.

In fact, two full days still wasn't real-

ly sufficient to take in all that was going on. The massive main hall housed some 65 trade stands offering just about everything a modeller could need, while many traders used the occasion to launch a host of mouth-watering new products. Among these were three larger scale figures of especial note. These included two personality pieces — one, from Poste Militaire and brilliantly sculpted by American Mike Good, is a wonderful likeness of 'Sailor' Malan, one of the legendary aces of the Battle of Britain. With one foot resting on a stool and a cup of tea in hand, it captures perfectly the relaxed pose of a fighter pilot between sorties. The other was created by John Barber of Thistle Miniatures from Aberdeen (who also, interestingly, were presenting the second of their carefully researched full-colour 'Thistleprints'

— this one of the various tartan trews worn by the present day Scottish regiments of the Regular Army). A painted casting of their new figure of Pipe Major Spoor MVO, TD, of the London Scottish — the Queen Mother's personal piper — was presented to Mr Spoor on his retirement in August of this year.

The final new figure I would mention was a poignant piece, a 95th Rifleman in the Peninsular War, on his knees in the act of cocking his Baker rifle. This was the first new figure to be produced by Jackie Almond of Almond Sculptures and is the companion to the sergeant of the 95th, the last figure sculpted by her husband Richard, who tragically died just over a year ago.

The stage, balconies and landings of the Hall provided space for a further 15 or so clubs and organisations, including a splendid display of uniforms, drums and historical information by the Queen's Regiment. Outside on the green lawns of the Leas throughout the weekend the slightly bemused local inhabitants and assorted holidaymakers were entertained by medieval knights in combat, a kilted and bonneted pipe band, a group of dancing Blackcrow Indian braves and their squaws, and the hugely impressive Grenadiers à Pied of La Garde Impériale firing their cannon. Back inside, nine of the UK's top modellers demonstrated a whole range of modelling and painting techniques to a constantly spellbound audience.

Of course, in any show of this nature, it is the models that are the jewels in the crown, and here they really glittered and sparkled with a vengeance... But besides the remarkable record of 619 entries in the 19 classes (an increase of over 100 on last year), two unexpected added attractions were revealed on entering the Competition Hall. First were a series of showcases given over the work of such outstanding painters and modellers as Gary Joslyn, Trevor Morgan, Bob Godsiff, Marco Luccetti, Tony Greenland and the doyen of all modellers specialising in the ancient world, Peter Wilcox. Then, what to me was one of the most remarkable exhibits of all — six brass side drums engraved with the legend: 'Taken by the 2nd Battalion of the 34th Regiment from the 34th Regiment of French Infantry of the Line at Arroyo dos Molinos on 28th October 1811'. These were the actual drums seized by the 34th in that famous engagement, now displayed by their direct descendants, the King's Royal Border Regiment.

## THE COMPETITION

Although this year's competitions may not have provided quite the number of show-stopping entries of previous years, the overall quality reached an all-time high, and consequently one felt a twinge of sympathy for chief judge Bob Marrior, his able assistant Ken Jones (Editor of *Military Modelling*), and the panel of expert judges faced with the unenviable task of singling out winners from such an array of excellence.

The only cause for regret was that a misunderstanding over the procedure for registration of proxy entries result-

ed in several models by Bill Horan, Graham Bickerton and Steve Warrilow being withdrawn. This was obviously upsetting for sponsors and modellers alike, and the organisers are looking into ways of clarifying the rules to avoid any repetition of this misfortune.

In a brief review such as this it is, of course, only possible to highlight a very few of the entries, a particularly difficult assignment when the tables were laden with such a brilliant display of modelling at its very best. Even so, in Class 1A (for painted only foot figures up to 65mm) a few figures managed to grab the attention, a remarkable feat in such company. One that did, without in fact taking a prize, was a superb figure of Marshal Ney on the retreat from Moscow. Painted by Phil Kessling of the USA, the face absolutely breathed life while the texture of the greatcoat and its fur trimming had been brilliantly represented. The worthy winner of this class was a Chota Sahib figure of a greatcoated officer of the 95th Regiment in the Crimea. With a battered forage cap, and a cigar clamped between his teeth, his weather-beaten features really captured the feel of a campaign-hardened warrior and provided the painter, Derek Hansen, with the first of a series of awards that were to come his way.

The other two painted-only classes (for larger foot figures, and mounted figures) were dominated by Poste Militaire castings and by the superb painting of M. Volquarts, who took both first prizes and a second. It was particularly fascinating to be able to compare the work of different hands on no less than seven Red Lancers, including the winner, entered in the mounted class.

The classes for single converted and scratchbuilt foot and mounted figures can usually be relied upon to produce fine examples of modelling at its very best, for each figure is unique and can demonstrate to the full a modeller's expertise, ingenuity and sheer creative flair. This year proved no exception. In the class for single foot figures up to 65mm almost any of the multitude of figures entered could have won a prize at a lesser event. A delicate little figure that caught my eye, if not the judges', was a Grenadier in Ligonier's Regiment, 1742, resting against a bank as he studied a Highland pistol while puffing on his pipe — very simple but most effective. In the end, though, it was another figure by Derek Hansen that took first prize, this time a German Imperial reservist of World War 1 — a member of a Landsturm Battalion.

The next class, for single mounted converted/scratchbuilt figures up to 65mm, produced some of the most exciting models of the whole show. Second was a mounted NCO of the Life Guards at Kassassin in 1882, his horse at full gallop, careering down a bank — a brilliant piece of animation by Miguel del Rey. The winner in the class, which was also adjudged 'Best of Show', was yet another piece by Derek Hansen: a 5th Westphalian Uhlan of 1914 about to drive home his lance. Once again the animation of horse and rider, together with the subtle brilliance of the painting, was outstanding.

(1) Euro-Militaire '90: Derek Hansen's 'Uhlán, 5th Westphalian Regt., 1914' won not only Class 4 and two manufacturers' prizes but also the 'Best of Show' award. (David Lock)

(2) Euro-Militaire '90: Peter Wilcox made a popular return to the 'show ring' with a flawlessly modelled and painted Scythian — 'Saka Raider, 5th Century' took first place in Class 6. (David Lock)

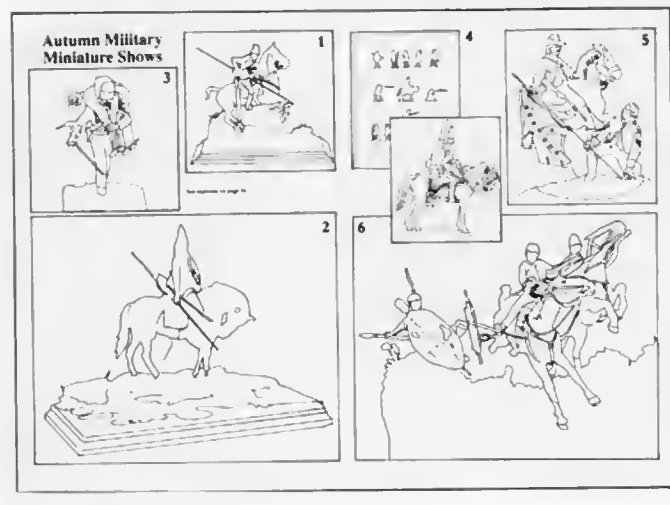
(3) Euro-Militaire '90: Adrian Bay's 'Brothers-in-Arms' vignette of two 11th Hussars in the Crimea took first prize in Class 7. (David Lock)

(4) Euro-Militaire '90: No conventional photograph can do real justice to

the microscopically detailed painting and beautifully subtle shading of these small scale 'flats' from Mike Taylor, winner of Class II. Even seen with the naked eye they almost defy belief. (David Lock)

(5) Chicago '90: 'Advance the Standard' by Ron Tunison, a 200mm scratchbuilt model; the same artist's 'Dismounted Reb' won a Gold Medal. (Bill Haran)

(6) Chicago '90: 'A Desperate Endeavor: Saving the Colour at Isandlwana' — 54mm diorama by Bill Horan, showing impressively realised animation. Part of Bill's exhibit 'Echoes of Valor', which won a Gold Medal and 'Best of Show'. (Nick Infield)





The winner of the larger converted/scratchbuilt class proved to be a very popular choice, for it was evidence that the aforementioned Peter Wilcox was back in competitions, this time with an exquisite 5th Century Saka raider.

**Adrian Bay**, a modeller who has recently come to the fore with some really outstanding work, took first prize in the vignette class. Entitled 'Brothers in Arms', his entry was of an 11th Hussar in the Crimea carrying a badly wounded comrade, and was beautifully executed.

Second place in the boxed dioramas couldn't fail to catch the eye — it must have been a good three feet square. It

showed two helicopters hovering low over a rice paddy as a squad of combat troops scrambled aboard one. Using large scale figures, and simply titled 'Nam '69', it was a truly epic piece; one is left wondering how **Massart de Zee** transported it to and from the show. (Regrettably, technical difficulties prevent us from publishing a photograph.)

The popularity of flats has increased tremendously in the last few years, without a doubt due principally to the amazing painting of two great practitioners of the art, **Mike Taylor** and **Jim Woodley**. This time it was Taylor who took both of the flats first prizes, one being gaudied with a superb set of

18th century uniforms.

This year there was a special class to mark the Battle of Britain. 'His finest hour' showed a pilot out to the world, curled up in an armchair and clasping a teddy bear mascot, while on the ground were a wind-up gramophone and a couple of dirty plates — a delightful little cameo. However, the winner of the really unique trophy, a highly polished piston and con-rod from a shot-down Messerschmitt Bf 109E, was **Geoffrey Illsley** with a superb model of Douglas Bader standing by his Hurricane while other fired pilots sprawl in the background. The scratch-built detail in the cockpit had to be seen to be believed.

One final inspired touch rounded off this memorable weekend and certainly summed up the friendly atmosphere and international flavour of the event. The array of prizes, including the 'Best of Show' framed silver certificate valued at more than £2,000, were presented to the winners by Ulrich Steinhilper. Herr Steinhilper had been a Luftwaffe pilot flying Bf 109s in the skies overhead just 50 years ago, and is now involved in the fight to save for posterity the nearby Battle of Britain fighter station, Hawkinge.

So ended an exhausting but exhilarating two days, leaving all who attended to look forward to 21 and 22 September 1991.

## Chicago Military Miniature Show, October 1990

BILL HORAN

'This year is even better than last year'... 'Did you see Chris's new bust?'... 'How did you mix that colour?'... 'Don has some great new pieces — he sure has improved'... 'Paul's back this year'... 'What did he use for the groundwork?'

The date is 20 October 1990, the place the Hyatt Regency in suburban Chicago, Illinois; and the air is buzzing with the excited chatter of hundreds of enthusiastic, nervous, ecstatic, fanatical modellers, collectors, wives, and just plain folks who admire the artistry of the military miniature. The mind struggles to take in the sight of more than 1,500 examples of the dedication and skill of over 175 exhibitors, carefully arranged in attractive exhibits covering more than 80 tables. For those who toil quietly in workrooms, basements, garages, or on the kitchen table throughout the year — agonizing over every brushstroke, worrying about the accuracy of each bit of reference material, while longing to display the fruits of their labours proudly to kindred spirits — it is like Christmas morning: the Chicago Show has come round again.

To those attending the show the competition itself is the climax of a weekend of activities in and around Chicago. Many choose to visit the Museum of Science and Industry where the only intact World War II German U-boat (U-505) can be boarded and studied at closer range. The Chicago Historical Society has an excellent museum containing many rare and fascinating Civil War artefacts. Perhaps the most popular foraging expedition is to the local military book store and hobby shop: Articles of War and The Hobby Chest are in adjacent shops, offering a wealth of reference and modelling materials for the miniaturist, and are the one place where one can be certain of running into old friends not seen since... well... since last year's show!

The day before the show **Shepherd Paine** holds 'open house' — an excellent way for those attending to meet good friends from faraway places, and to make new ones. To the newcomer

there is also the thrill of visiting the home of the hobby's most respected and well-known artist.

This year's show was dominated by 54mm conversions, with many of the best modellers in the USA, Canada and Great Britain entering outstanding work in that scale. **Greg DiFranco** showed an exquisite Historex conversion, with extensive scratchbuilding, depicting a major of the French 6th Lancers. Perennial award winner **Bill Ottinger** again appeared with three outstanding Historex conversions, including a Gold Medal-winning French Carabinier general. Although frequently recognised at shows in the States, and by proxy in Great Britain, for his stock figures, **Jerry Hutter** completed his first 54mm conversion — and took home a Gold Medal with it. Other modellers showing excellent 54mm work were **Ron Wehrman**, **Preston Russell**, and from England **Steve Warrilow** and **Graham Bickerton**. Your correspondent showed a variety of 54mm conversions, vignettes and dioramas.

Busts are a subject of growing interest, and some of the very best modellers in the USA and France have pioneered this challenging and exciting innovation; it is to be hoped that other shows around the world will find ways of accommodating this intriguing trend. **Mike Good's** Jivaro headhunter, **Chris Walther's** Samurai, **David Butterfield's** 'Capt. Jean-Luc Picard' (of *Star Trek* fame), and an exquisite private of the 95th Rifles in the Crimea by France's **Michel Saez** were among the most popular pieces at the show.

A wide variety of outstanding work was on display, ranging from a superb scratchbuilt 90mm diorama by Toronto's talented **Paul Francis** depicting 'Colbert's Charge' at Waterloo, via an amusing scene entitled 'The Hat Trick' by **Jim Holt** of Chicago, to a massive 120mm railroad gun scene by **Louis Pruneau**. The ships entered by **John Leyland** and **Dennis Moore** were also crowd-pleasers. The magnificent large-scale sculptures of nationally known mili-

tary artist **Ron Tunison** were a welcome treat, and Ron collected a Gold Medal for his 'Dismounted Reb'.

As at any show, there was a proliferation of impressively painted stock figures. A set of Chota Sahib figures entitled 'British Victorians' by **Don Weeks**, **Phil Kessling's** '66th Berkshire', and **Jan Sakert's** 'Robot Girl' were all rewarded with Gold Medals; but the quality didn't stop there, and **John Canning**, **Jim Johnston**, **Steven Weakley**, **Bob Sarnowsky** and **Mike Stelzel** were among those recognised with Silver Medals for their artistry. The very talented and prolific **Bob Knee** entered

what seemed like dozens of well-painted figures, and came away with a Silver Medal for a particularly well executed 'Russian Sniper'.

This year's Chicago Medal recipient was **Mike Good**, who was honoured for years of excellence in the hobby. Mike now deservedly joins a select group of recipients including **Shepherd Paine**, **Peter Twist**, **Paul Francis** and **Greg DiFranco**.

Next year's Chicago Show will be held on Saturday 19 October 1991. For information, please write to: MMSI Show, PO Box 394, Skokie, Illinois 60077, USA. **MI**

(7) Chicago '90: 'Colbert's Charge' by Paul Francis — an entirely scratchbuilt 90mm diorama — was not entered in the competition. (Bill Horan)

(8) The popularity of 'busts' steadily increases among American and French modellers; one of the latter, Michel Saez, took a Gold Medal at Chicago '90 with this 120mm scratchbuilt treatment of a Crimean War 95th Rifles private. (Bill Horan)

(9) Another Gold Medal at Chicago went to Mike Tapavica for his 90mm scratchbuilt 21st Lancer at Omdurman. (Bill Horan)

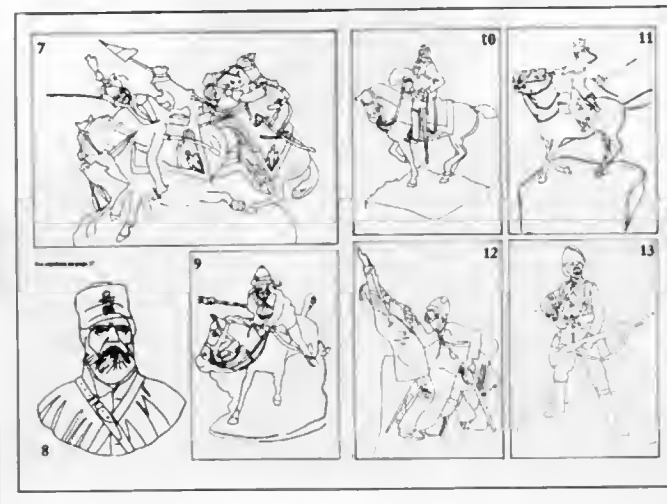
(10) Bill Ottinger took Chicago Gold with this beautiful 54mm con-

version of a General of Carabiniers. (Bill Horan)

(11) Another 54mm conversion by the author of our show report, forming part of his 'Best of Show' exhibit: 'Officer, 16th Lancers, 1846'. (Bill Horan)

(12) Very much in the spirit of Caton Woodville's more triumphalist pictures is this vignette from Bill Horan's 'Echoes of Valor' exhibit — 'The Prisoner'. (Nick Infield)

(13) Phil Kessling took a Gold Medal home from Chicago for his painting of this 100mm stock figure, '66th Berkshire at Maiwand' — an image recalling Michael Barthorp and Pierre Turner's piece on that battle in 'MI' No. 17. (Bill Horan)







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# Portraits for a King: The British Military Paintings of A-J. Dubois Drahonet

JENNY SPENCER-SMITH

The special exhibition currently showing at the National Army Museum (until 10 March) puts on display together for the first time the 97 known oil paintings of British military subjects by the little-known French artist Alexandre-Jean Dubois Drahonet (1791-1834). Ninety-two of these exquisitely painted and detailed uniform studies of soldiers of the early 1830s belong to Her Majesty The Queen and, as they usually hang in the Private Apartments, are not on view to the general public. They have also been specially cleaned for the exhibition; and, although previously described, have yielded new information and some re-attributions during further research (1). A selection are described here by the NAM's Head of the Department of Fine and Decorative Art.

Not only are these studies of the rarely-illustrated uniform changes introduced by King William IV after his accession to the throne in 1830, and demonstrations of movements from the drill manuals; but each painting is also a portrait from life of an identified soldier, whose life and career can be traced from Army records. As a group comprising staff and regimental officers, non-commissioned officers, privates and even three children from the military school, the Royal Military Asylum, as well as some Naval, Royal Bodyguard and Royal Marine subjects, they form a fascinating cross-section of military personnel during the period of the 'Long Peace' between the Napoleonic Wars and the Crimean campaign.

Drahonet was commissioned by King William IV in 1831 to paint a series of pictures for a fee of seven guineas apiece, and he continued the commission until 1834. In addition to the Royal Collection's pictures, the exhibition includes two paintings from the Musée de l'Armée, Paris, another two generously

lent by The Honourable David McAlpine, and two from the National Army Museum's own collection.

In addition to the handsome, elongated, fashion-plate figures of the officers, the artist was also interested in the non-commissioned and private soldiers who were sent to sit for him in his London studio, and he recorded their names on the pictures. Many of them were cavalrymen who were on detached duty at St. John's Wood, where the Army had its Riding Establishment and where the pick of both horses and men from each mounted regiment were sent for training as Roughriders or Riding Masters.

Although Drahonet's sitters were mainly 'model' soldiers, many did not survive in military service beyond their thirties. Private soldiers usually enlisted for unlimited service, officially at the minimum age of 18 although sometimes they were much younger; but the appalling conditions in which they lived even on home service created a high mortality and hospitalisation rate not only compared to the equiva-



Front cover, NAM Cat. 61

lent age group in the male civilian population, but even in comparison with the most hazardous occupations, such as mining. Most soldiers were medically discharged with a pension according to length of service and rank (service at the Battle of Waterloo counted for an additional two years), with tuberculosis and respiratory diseases the most common ailments, and venereal disease — specifically syphilis — following closely, although cavalrymen were also subject to serious riding injuries. Respiratory complaints and fevers were directly attributable to overcrowded and insanitary barrack accommodation, and were exacerbated by inadequate ventilation and filthy practices such as the use of a communal wooden urine tub, sometimes used later for collecting the men's rations (2). Usually soldiers' wives and children had to share this accommodation, with little more than a blanket strung up in a corner affording them privacy.

Some of the men depicted may have been on detached duty with recruiting parties since the high disease rate and

regular desertion made constant recruiting essential to keep up numbers. Recruits could be enlisted either at a Regimental Depot or at one of the recruiting offices in the nine recruiting districts in the country, but, more commonly, they were brought in by the recruiting parties, frequently by means of dishonest practices (trickery or the lowering of minimum standards), so that often only the stupidest or most disreputable men joined up. One regimental Colonel recommended recruiting in London in order to find North Countrymen who had come south for employment but had failed to find it, as they were usually the better characters (3).

At the same time as he painted the series for William IV, Drahonet had embarked on a similar project for the French King Louis Philippe, who planned a national museum at Versailles. It was here that the artist died in 1834, perhaps having left incomplete both commissions. Nevertheless, his paintings stand as a valuable record of the Army during the short reign of William IV — the product of a talented artist with





Fig. 1, Cat. 18

an eye for detail who revelled in his ability to suggest the range of textures demanded by his subjects, as well as the variety of personalities he captured in paint.

The following representative examples of the paintings are reproduced here, with their numbers in the fully colour-illustrated catalogue produced by the NAM for the exhibition:

(Front cover: NAM Catalogue 61) Pioneer-Corporal William

**Surfling, Coldstream Guards, 1832** Surfling wears a brown (later replaced by white) leather apron as he wields a broad axe, while strapped to his back beneath the rolled greatcoat is the case for his saw, which is propped against the fence. Under his left elbow the distinctive curved shape of a short-handled billhook can be seen, and the white bag behind it was probably for the assortment of pioneer tools he would have carried, such as an auger, cold chisel and hammer. The fur-covered bag beside it is the calfskin knapsack issued to pioneers on home service. Each regiment of foot included one pioneer corporal and ten privates, whose purpose was to construct roads, trenches and fortifications, or, as Surfling demonstrates here, to demolish obstacles.

A labourer from Lessing-ham, Norfolk, Surfling joined the Coldstream Guards at Ipswich on 8 December 1817 aged 18. He was pro-

moted corporal in October 1825, but was reduced to the ranks after two years for some misdemeanour. Exactly a year later he was made up to corporal again and, in July 1834, after this painting was made, he was promoted sergeant. On 23 March 1839, aged almost 40, he received a medical discharge due to severe breathing difficulties and spitting of blood; he would have had tuberculosis. (Reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty The Queen)

(Fig. 1: NAM Cat. 18) **Private John Burnside, 2nd Life Guards, c.1832** A tall man at 6ft. 1in., Burnside was an obvious candidate for a Household Cavalry regiment when he joined the Army in 1820 aged 18. He was an illiterate labourer from Darlington, who spent 27 years in the 2nd Life Guards and received three distinguishing marks for Good Conduct before his retirement in 1847. Painted by Drahonet in 1832, he demonstrates the Royal Salute with his right arm outstretched to the side; but his discharge 15 years later was because he had such severe rheumatism that he could not 'lift his arm above a right angle' and so could not carry out the sword exercise (4).

Burnside wears a scarlet coatee beneath the cuirass, winter issue dark blue trousers, and a 'Roman' helmet with black bearskin crest. Across his chest is a white ammunition pouch belt from which, at his right hip, hangs a swivel clip; attached to that is his 1796 pattern Heavy Dragoon carbine. The blue flask cord running down the centre of the pouch belt was the only uniform distinction at the time between

this regiment and the 1st Life Guards, which wore a red cord. Private Burnside appears to salute with a four-bar hilted 1820 Household Cavalry trooper's sword with a brass guard, of which no known examples exist today — in fact Drahonet's paintings are the only concrete evidence for their existence, although there is a steel-hilted version in the Royal Armouries, Tower of London (5). (Reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty The Queen)

(Fig. 2: NAM Cat. 26) **Private John Kernan, 7th (The Princess Royal's) Dragoon Guards, 1832**

Demonstrating the command 'Handle Cartridge', Pte. Kernan reaches into his ammunition pouch with his right hand to extract the cartridge with which he will prime and load his 1796 Heavy Dragoon carbine. The carbine exercise would have been practised on foot like this prior to mounted practice. He wears a red coatee with the black velvet facings of his regiment, with yellow lace, and the dark blue trousers issued as winter dress between October and April. The sabretache and ammunition pouch bear no regimental devices although these were worn by other regiments of Dragoon Guards. Shortly after this, in 1834, the wearing of sabretaches by other ranks was discontinued.

Kernan was a 6ft., illiterate labourer who came from Rynough in the County of King's (now Co. Offaly),



Fig. 2, Cat. 26

Ireland, who enlisted for short service with the 7th Dragoon Guards in 1825, aged 20. He was discharged after two-and-a-half years, but re-enlisted the following day, serving with the regiment for a further 16 years. He was stationed at Fort Beaufort, Cape of Good



Fig. 3, Cat. 44





Fig. 4, Cat. 51

Hope in 1845 when he was taken ill with a pain in the chest and breathing difficulties. Sent home at once, he was examined by a Staff Surgeon at the General Hospital in Chatham, who pronounced him unfit for service. It appears that he had suffered regularly from respiratory problems since he had contracted a severe cold during an earlier posting in Ireland, added to which were chronic ulcers on both legs. Medically discharged, he was admitted to the Royal Hospital Chelsea as an In-Pensioner in 1860, where he died, aged 63, in January 1869 (6). (Reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty The Queen)

(Fig. 3: NAM Cat. 44) Sergeant John Toms, 15th (The King's) Hussars

Viewed from the rear, Toms shows off the splendid scarlet pelisse trimmed with brown fur and embellished with gold lace slung across his shoulders. His uniform is otherwise blue, apart from the scarlet shako with gold lace top band, a special distinction granted to the regiment by George III at the request of his brother, the Duke of York, when the latter was Commander-in-Chief of the Army. Another regimental variation were the mixed red and gold cap lines, as opposed to the plain gold lines worn by other regiments. Despite this, the 15th Hussars had a reputation for economy in clothing, and provided the standard which the other Hussar regiments were forced to adopt when the Board of

General Officers eventually decided to simplify the dress in 1842 (7).

A Cornishman who was enlisted at Truro on 18 July 1818 aged 16, John Toms was sworn in for unlimited military service at Exeter five days later, despite being under age. Another labourer, he was literate and was 5ft. 7in. tall, with light brown hair, hazel eyes and a fresh complexion at the outset of his service. He survived to be discharged at his own request in 1844, his pension being adjusted accordingly. He retired to Arundel in Sussex, with the regiment's testimony to his good character (8). (Reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty The Queen)

(Fig. 4: NAM Cat. 51) Company-Sergeant Frederick Greenwood, Royal Artillery, 1932

Frederick Greenwood lunges with his half-pike, then still carried by the Royal Artillery although Line Infantry regiments had discarded it in 1830. Note the company-sergeant's rank distinction on his right arm; this was the gold on scarlet badge in the form of a crowned Union flag above the sergeant's chevrons, with crossed swords below. He wears white summer trousers with the Royal Artillery blue coat with red facings, and a red waist sash bearing a central blue stripe. His coat carries short-fringed bullion epaulettes, and cuff slashes each bearing three buttons on gilt patches over blue. Despite the summer trousers, his shako plume is encased in a black

waterproof cover; the brass chin scales are worn decoratively, pushed up above the shako plate, and a plain black chin strap has been added for practical use. Carrying his knapsack with folded greatcoat on top, Greenwood appears in full marching order as he would have been on campaign, while the shell burning at his feet adds to that impression.

A joiner from Huddersfield who enlisted in 1809, Greenwood saw nearly four years' service in the Peninsular War, and was afterwards posted to the Cape of Good Hope for a further eight-and-a-half years. He was promoted bombardier in 1815 and sergeant in 1825, becoming company-sergeant (a term which appears to have been interchangeable with 'colour-sergeant', although the Royal Artillery carry no colours) in 1831. In 1833, while working on the Repository Course at Woolwich, Greenwood managed to rupture himself while moving a 13-in. mortar; in consequence he was discharged as medically unfit, aged 43, with an exemplary character. In addition to his pension he received an allowance to enable him to return to Huddersfield with his wife and two children (9). (Reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty The Queen)

(Fig. 5: NAM, Cat 57) Sergeant William Bryant, Grenadier Guards, 1831

The stocky and slightly sullen-looking Sergeant Bryant was a veteran of the Belgian campaign of 1814, when he served with the regiment in the Guards Brigade of Gen. Sir Thomas Graham's force before Antwerp, being present at the storming of Bergen-op-Zoom on 8 and 9 March. There he received a head wound and was taken prisoner, probably during the fierce fighting in the main square. He would have been released soon after this upon the cessation of hostilities that came with Napoleon's abdication in April 1814. Bryant must have recovered well from his head wound since he fought at the battles of Quatre Bras and Waterloo in June 1815: he wears the Waterloo Medal pinned to his left breast in the painting.

Prior to Waterloo, only the grenadier companies of the regiments of Foot Guards were permitted to wear bearskin caps, but this was granted as a distinction to the Grenadier Guards for their repulse of the French Imperial Guard, who wore bearskins, at that battle. The headdress, with its distinctive white plume and tassel (just seen on the wearer's right), was among the articles of clothing supplied by the Colonel of the regiment, and was supposed to be renewed every six years (10). Bryant also holds a New Land pattern sergeant's carbine, recognisable by the distinctive rear 'scroll' of the triggerguard; if the artist completed the



Fig. 5, Cat. 57



painting in 1831, as he inscribed it, this is in advance of the carbine's general introduction in 1832 (11). Bryant was promoted corporal in 1817 and sergeant in 1820. He was discharged on 9 April 1833 with a 'diseased state of the lungs', retiring to Hurst, near Brighton to live on his pension (12). (Reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty The Queen)

(Fig. 6: NAM Cat. 62) Corporal Jonathan Cory, Coldstream Guards, 1831

In this painting Drahonet shows Corporal Cory demonstrating the command 'Present', taking aim with his New Land pattern flintlock musket (introduced in 1802 and at this time the standard weapon of the Foot Guards). As he leans forward, the pricker and brush set can be seen hanging on a chain round his neck. Also issued with the musket was the New Land pattern socket bayonet, seen here in the frog at Cory's left hip. The angle at which the corporal stands affords a good view of his equipment, especially the black Trotter knapsack of leather-reinforced painted canvas, with the neatly-rolled greatcoat on top, and the mess tin in its cover hanging below that. The knapsack bears the regimental insignia of the Garter star in the centre, under the mess tin. Underneath the pack can be seen in profile Cory's ammunition pouch; note its depth, and heavy flap.

Cory must have belonged to the grenadier company of the Coldstream when this painting was executed in 1831, for it was not until the following year that the whole regiment was permitted to wear the bearskin cap. Like

his fellow non-commissioned officer in the regiment, Pioneer-Corporal Surfing (front cover), Cory had a slightly chequered career, having been promoted corporal in 1826, three years after he had joined the regiment at Norwich, but being reduced to private the following year. He was reinstated as corporal in 1830, promoted sergeant in 1836, and discharged at his own request in May 1844 when he was 41 years old (13). (Reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty The Queen)

(Fig. 7: NAM Cat. 71) Sergeant Robert Smart, 13th (1st Somersetshire Light Infantry) Regiment of Foot, 1833

When he sat for his portrait in the summer of 1833 Smart had just returned from four-and-a-half years' service in India, having completed his original enlistment term of seven years. As he had risen rapidly to corporal after only six months as a private, and was promoted sergeant in May 1829, he had decided to re-enlist for unlimited service. He was sent to London in May 1833 to have his portrait painted, on detachment from the Infantry Depot at Chatham.

Smart wears the single-breasted scarlet coatee with yellow facings, plain white sergeant's lace (without the black stripe won by the men), and his sergeant's white chevrons are sewn onto a background of the facing colour. The green ball tuft on top of his shako, as well as the wings on his shoulders, indicate that he belongs to the light infantry — these distinctions were worn by both Light Infantry regiments



and light companies of all Line infantry regiments. Attached to the front of his crossbelt is a brass whistle for issuing orders in the field. He carries a New Land pattern Light Infantry musket, while his sergeant's sidearm is a plainer version of the 1822 pattern infantry officers' sword. His white summer trousers have a split at the bottom of the outside seam, a practice which dated from the Peninsular campaign, probably to enable soldiers to take their trousers off and put them on without the need to remove their boots (14).

In 1847 Smart was discharged from the Army at Dublin with an excellent character. Two years later he married Jane Besley and, although he was originally a weaver from Barony, Lanarkshire, they went to live in Taunton. It was there that Smart suddenly died in 1860, suffering a seizure while attempting to alleviate one of the violent headaches to which he had become prone by dunking his head in the water butt in his yard. A post mortem found a swelling pressing on his brain, no doubt a brain tumour (15).

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Fig. 6, Cat. 62

#### Notes:

- (1) A. E. Haswell Miller & N. P. Dawney, *Military Drawings and Paintings in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, Phaidon, London (1966); and *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, passim.
- (2) Alan Ramsay Skelley, *The Victorian Army at Home*, Croom Helm, London (1977), pp. 21-84.
- (3) Ramsay Skelley, op. cit., pp. 40-41.
- (4) Burnside's record of service survives at the Public Record Office, Kew: PRO.WO97/2.
- (5) Brian Robson, *Swords of the British Army, the Regulation Patterns 1788-1914*, Arms & Armour Press, London (1975), pp. 97-98.
- (6) Record of service in

- PRO.WO97/77.
- (7) JSAHR Vol. XXVII (1948), p.1.
- (8) PRO.WO97/133.
- (9) JSAHR Vol. XIX (1951), p.171; and PRO.WO97/1232.
- (10) Clothing Regulations, 1830.
- (11) D. W. Bailey, *British Military Longarms 1815-65*, Arms & Armour Press, London (1972), p.35.
- (12) JSAHR Vol. XXX (1952), pp. 156-157; and PRO.WO97/158.
- (13) JSAHR Vol. XXVII (1950), pp. 106-107; and PRO.WO97/163.
- (14) JSAHR Vol. XXX (1952), pp. 95-96; and PRO.WO97/347.
- (15) Information kindly supplied by the sitter's great-granddaughter, Mrs. Mary Street.



# Test-Firing Selected 16th-18th Century Weapons

Dr. PETER KRENN  
Translated by Dr. ERWIN SCHMIDL

The actual performance of historic military firearms continues to intrigue collectors and historians alike. In late 1988 the director of the Styrian Provincial Armoury at Graz, Austria — Dr. Peter Krenn — decided to find out by practical testing just how far a variety of early black-powder weapons could shoot; and what impact their bullets produced when they hit targets of various materials at different ranges. The following is a summary of his findings.

The *Landeszeughaus* or Provincial Armoury at Graz houses a large number of weapons, including no less than 3,815 muskets and 4,032 pistols. It is certainly among Austria's most important and worthwhile tourist attractions for visitors whose interests embrace the normal subject matter of 'MT'. (For American readers unable to visit Austria,

it might be of interest to add that a part of the Armoury's collection is to tour the United States in 1991-92, to be shown in New York, Houston, Washington DC and San Francisco.)

While visitors often asked the staff about the range and power of the weapons on show, we lacked both practical experience and archival data to pro-

vide anything more than vague and general answers. We knew about the range and accuracy of replica weapons — but how close were these to the performance of 'the real thing'? Prompted by both personal and public curiosity, the Armoury decided in the autumn of 1988 to test-fire 16 military or military-style firearms ranging in date from the last quarter of the 16th century to the mid-18th century.

From a curator's point of view this was no easy decision to reach: these weapons had not been fired for at least 200 years, and nobody could guarantee what might happen when we put 'fire in the hole' again after so many years. In this specific case, however, it was decided that the risk was acceptable: the test weapons would be selected from among the large numbers of practically mass-produced examples in the Armoury's collection, so even if the worst happened no irreplaceable relic would be lost.

The 16 firearms chosen represented a cross-section of types ranging from large

*Doppelhaken* arquebuses to pistols, and mechanisms included matchlock, wheellock, flintlock, and some interesting combination and converted types.

They were thoroughly examined at the Austrian *Beschussamt* at Ferlach in Carinthia; and at this stage two of the 16 were withdrawn because of structural weaknesses. The remaining 14 weapons were, in the order shown in the table accompanying this article:

(1) A Styrian-made matchlock musket made in the first quarter of the 17th century, probably by Hans Kummer at Deutschfeistritz near Graz.

(2) A large *Doppelhaken* wheellock arquebus with a rifled barrel; Styria, 1571.

(3) A smoothbore *Doppelhaken* arquebus with a com-

**continued on page 37**

#### Below & opposite

A small part of the Graz Armoury's collection of historic arms and armour. It was not too difficult to find potentially expendable 'mass-produced' weapons among the thousands of muskets and pistols. (Steffen-Lichtbild, Graz)



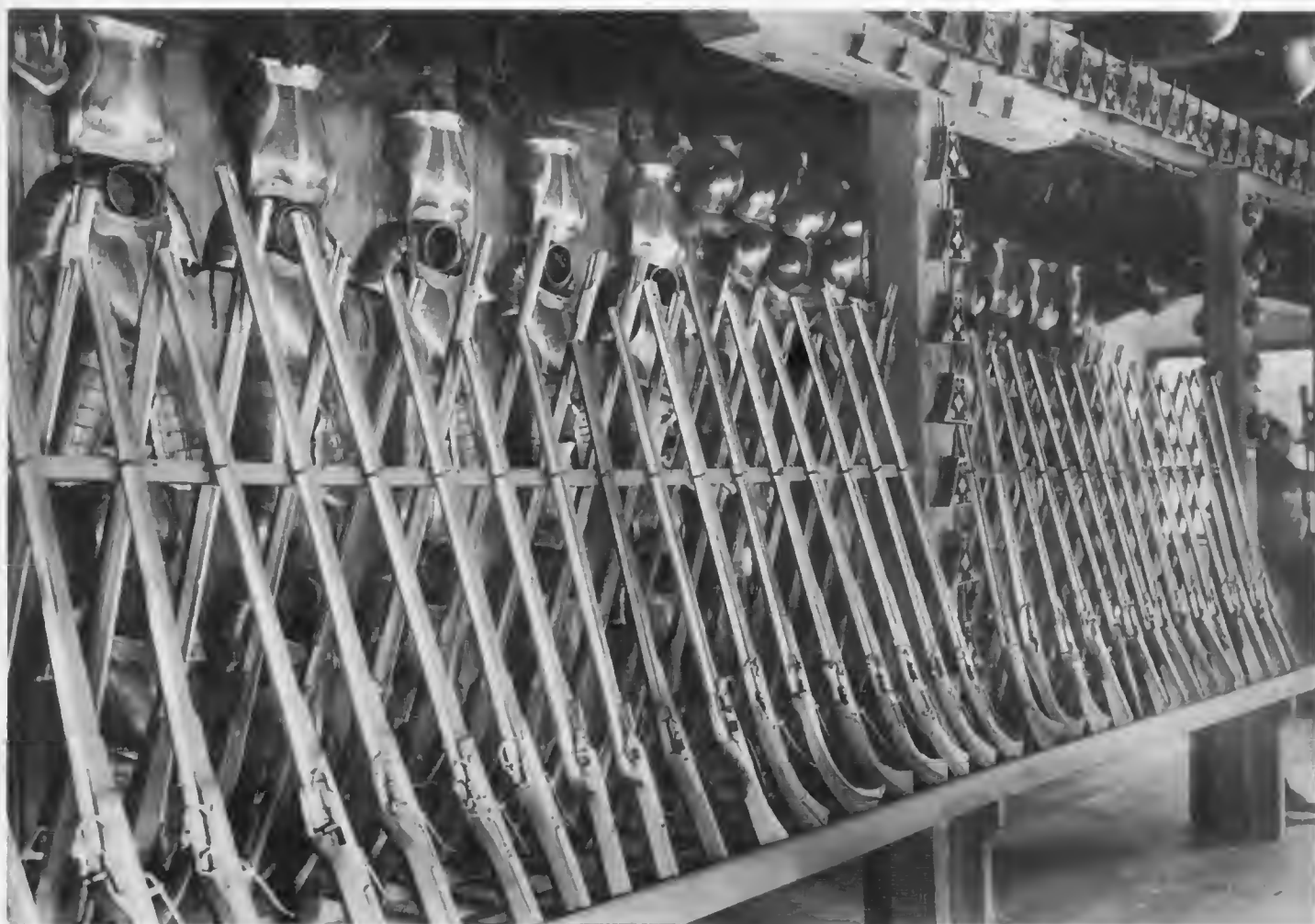
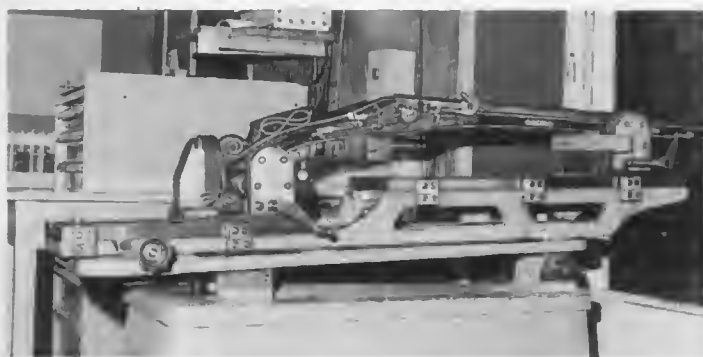




A Styrian matchlock musket of the early 17th century, probably by Hans Kummer of Deutschfeistritz; No. (1) in our table. It has a calibre of 15mm, and weighs only 2.5kg — 5.5lb. (Landeszeughaus Graz, as are all other photographs of the weapons exhibition and test series.)

Augsburg wheellock musket of c. 1595 set up for the tests at Felixdorf; this is (4) in our table.

Arrangement of the mid-18th century Austrian flintlock rifle, (12) in our table, for the special exhibition which followed the test series. The weapon is set up here with its ramrod, balls and leather patches, the hammer used to tap the ball down the rifling, and powder horn. The 3mm thick metal plates illustrate the penetration of the ball at various ranges; the soap block (right of the rifle) demonstrates vividly the characteristics of a wound in human flesh. A simulated target in the background indicates the grouping over a series of shots.





(*The targets used were rectangular, 167x30cm, half square metre area, or approx. 5ft. x 1ft.)  WEAPONS	Average bullet weight (grams)	Average bullet calibre (mm)	Bullet velocity (in metres per second)				Energy at impact (in joules)				Max. range at 60 degrees of elevation (in metres)	Probability of hitting target* (pistols, 30m)	Penetration of dry spruce-wood block (in mm)		Penetration of steel plate (in mm)	
			At muzzle	At 30m	At 100m	At muzzle	At 30m	At 100m	At muzzle	At 30m			At 100m	At 30m	At 100m	At 30m
(1)Matchlock musket, Syria, 1st quarter, 17th C.	17.38	14.3	449	378	264	1752	1242	606	957	60.9%	146	93	2	1		
(2)'Doppelhaken' rifled wheellock arquebus, Syria, 1571	38.26	19.0	482	418	305	4444	3342	1780	1141	52.5%	—	153	—	2		
(3)'Doppelhaken' smoothbore arquebus, combined wheellock/matchlock, Styria, 1580s	49.14	20.2	533	470	349	6980	5428	2993	1279	51.5%	—	189	—	4		
(4)Wheellock musket, Augsburg, c.1595	30.06	17.2	456	394	287	3125	2333	1238	1095	54.5%	190	80	3	2		
(5)Wheellock musket, Suhl, 1593	10.84	12.3	427	349	238	988	660	307	834	54.5%	132	84	2	1		
(6)Wheellock musket, rifled, 1st half 17th C	32.06	17.5	392	342	260	2463	1875	1084	1085	—	168	103	2	—		
(7)Wheellock pistol, Nuremberg, c.1620	9.56	11.8	438	355	—	917	602	—	812	85.0%	121	—	2	—		
(8)Flintlock musket with combined matchlock, Suhl, 1686	30.93	17.5	494	426	305	3774	2807	1439	1107	50.2%	183	114	4	2		
(9)Flintlock musket converted from matchlock c.1700	27.54	16.8	474	406	291	3094	2270	1166	1071	32.7%	115	83	4	2		
(10)Flintlock musket converted from matchlock c.1700	32.16	17.6	451	391	287	3271	2458	1324	1110	48.6%	195	147	3	2		
(11)Flintlock musket converted from matchlock c.1700	34.25	17.8	467	406	300	3735	2823	1541	1151	54.0%	—	—	—	—		
(12)Flintlock rifle, Austria, 2nd half 18th C	26.73	16.6	455	390	281	2767	2033	1055	1058	83.0%	—	80	3	2		
(13)Flintlock pistol, Ferlach, c.1700	14.45	13.5	385	323	—	1071	754	—	883	99.0%	114	—	2	—		
(14)Modern FN FAL rifle (StG 58, Austrian licence pattern)	9.45	7.82	835	815	770	3294	3138	2801	3890	100%	—	483	—	12		
(15)Modern Steyr AUG (StG 77) assault rifle	3.6	5.69	990	955	874	1764	1642	1375	2734	100%	—	287	—	9		
(16)Modern Austrian Glock Pistole 80 semi-automatic	8.0	9.02	360	342	—	518	468	—	1650	99.5%	126	—	2	—		





-bined wheellock and matchlock action, made in Styria in c.1580-90.

(4) An Augsburg-made wheellock musket of c.1595.

(5) A wheellock musket made at Suhl in 1593.

(6) A rifled wheellock musket dating from the first half of the 17th century.

(7) A Nuremberg-made wheellock pistol of c.1620.

(8) A flintlock musket with a

#### Below

*A handsome wheellock rifle made during the first half of the 17th century in Southern Germany. Sadly, the precision of this weapon left so much to be desired that it had to be withdrawn from the trials: stray balls were endangering the safety of everyone on the Felixdorf range.*

supplementary matchlock action, from Suhl, 1686.

(9), (10) and (11) Three flintlock muskets converted from original matchlock actions in c.1700.

(12) An Austrian flintlock rifle dating from the second half of the 18th century.

(13) A flintlock pistol made at Ferlach in c.1700.

(14) A South German wheellock rifle dating from the first half of the 17th century — this was withdrawn during the test-firing programme.

The guns were taken to the Austrian Army's test-firing range at Felixdorf south of Vienna, and the test series took place during December 1988

and January 1989. As a comparative control, three modern military weapons were fired at the same time: the licence-built Austrian version of the FN FAL 7.62mm self-loading rifle, StG 58; the more modern Steyr AUG 5.56mm assault rifle, StG 77; and the Austrian Glock 'plastic pistol', P80, in NATO 19 x 9mm calibre.

Altogether 385 shots were fired with the antique weapons. Needless to say, the tests took place under careful supervision — by Col. Dipl. Ing. Paul Kalas — and according to sound scientific criteria. For the sake of consistency a standardised type of powder was used: a hunter's black

*Thomas Köhler, one of the Graz Armoury's expert gunsmiths and restorers, firing a wheellock rifle during additional tests carried out at Graz.*

powder 'Köln-Rottweil Nr.O', grain 0.3-0.6mm, and for priming 'WANO-Feuerwerkspulver 75%', grain 0.15-0.35mm. Quantities were measured electronically.

The results of a selected sample of the tests are tabulated herewith. Because of the variety of muskets, rifles and pistols absolutely comparable results are not available in all cases; but even for the non-technically minded reader the table repays careful study.

Not surprisingly, the modern weapons were superior in







range and precision, while their large-calibre ancestors achieved a higher impact, at least at short ranges. At ranges of over 100m their performance dropped sharply due to the poor ballistic qualities of the large-calibre bullets. Although the weapons examined date from a period of about two centuries (c.1570-1780) their ballistic performance was, by and large, similar. However, improved lock mechanisms and better types of powder, in addition to new manufacturing techniques which made it possible to produce better barrels, resulted in significant overall improvements between the age of the *Landsknecht* and the wars of the late 18th century.

The maximum ranges of the old muskets fell between 835m and 1278m, although the effective ranges were, of course, much shorter. The impact of the shots was tested against targets of wood and metal at various distances, while gelatine and soap blocks were used to demonstrate the wounds inflicted on materials of com-

parable consistency to human flesh.

#### Ball vs. steel

To test the protection offered by body armour, a horseman's steel cuirass about 3mm thick, manufactured at Augsburg in about 1570, was fired at with a 1620 wheellock pistol from a distance of 8.5m (27.8ft) — a realistic range given the close combat tactics of that period. The armour was pierced, leaving a small, neat hole — but by the time it had passed through the metal the bullet had expended its energy completely, and a sandbag positioned behind the cuirass was not even damaged. In battle the cuirass would probably have saved the wearer's life; at even shorter ranges, however, it would have been of comparatively little value.

(Well into the 18th century all body armours were fired at for proofing purposes, resulting in the small dents which are found on practically all old surviving pieces. This empirical test by the armourer or *Büchsenmeister* was necessary, as manufacturing techniques

were not originally sophisticated enough to achieve a satisfactory degree of standardisation.)

The performance of any given weapon was, of course, influenced by its construction standards and its state of maintenance; and by the type of powder available — larger grain powder burns more quickly, reducing the 'hang-fire' and giving a better chance of keeping an accurate aim.

The detailed results of all the ballistic tests, with many charts, diagrams and illustrations, were published in a catalogue accompanying a special exhibition at the Graz Armoury in 1989-90; this article represents only a small fraction of the available data. The catalogue is entitled *Von alten Handfeuerwaffen: Entwicklung — Technik — Leistung* (Veröffentlichungen des Landeszeughaus Graz Nr. 12, Graz, 1989). Enquiries should be addressed to the Steiermärkisches Landesmuseums Joanneum, Abteilung Landeszeughaus, Schmiedgasse 34, A-8010 Graz, Austria. Although this

*A fine representative example of the overall shape of the flintlock military musket in the last quarter of the 17th century. This flintlock from Suhl, 1686, measures 1.49m (4.8ft.), weighs 4.2kg (9.2lb.), and has a calibre of 17.8mm. Note, again, a 'belt and braces' arrangement — a matchlock action is mounted in front of the flintlock. This is weapon (8) in our table.*

catalogue is available only in the German language, the illustrations and charts should be accessible to anyone with a basic knowledge of German and a good dictionary. Apart from the test data, the catalogue contains informative articles about the firearms and the equipment used with them, as well as about the armourers.

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*Weapon (3) in our table is this Doppelhaken arquebus made in Styria in c.1580-90; the lock is marked 'CS', for Christian Schmidt of Liezen. These heavy weapons — this example weighs 18kg or just under 40lb. — were used mainly from the support of breastworks or fortifications. Note that this gun has a combined wheellock/matchlock mechanism: if the complex wheellock action failed to function, there was always the crude but almost foolproof slowmatch.*





# The Military Paintings of David Cunliffe (2)

R.G. HARRIS

In the first part of his article on the few but important military paintings of this little-recorded early Victorian artist ('*MP*' No. 32), the author outlined the scanty available facts of Cunliffe's career; and described and illustrated a number of sketches and paintings of the 1840s, principally of the Royal Marine Artillery, 68th Light Infantry, 74th Highlanders, and — in his remarkable 'Sortie from Jellalabad' — 13th Light Infantry. This concluding part describes the other known works, and illustrates some of the most striking.

## Sir Charles Menzies, KCB, KH

Cunliffe's portrait of Sir Charles (14½in. x 20½in., framed 21½in. x 18in.) was painted at about the same time as the Southsea Common picture (Fig. B, '*MP*' No. 32 p.30). It shows him as lieutenant-colonel, Royal Marine Artillery, 1837-44; the uniform is as previously described, but one feature of particular interest is the bell-top shako shown in the bottom right hand corner — special attention seems to have been paid to ensure an accurate representation. The orders and decorations awarded him up to 1842 include the Order of a Knight of Charles III of Spain, the badge being worn from a pale blue and silver neck ribbon, and the star upon the left breast. The wide light blue ribbon suspends the badge of a Knight of the Hanoverian Order, and seen to the right of this is the dark blue ribbon and badge of the Tower and Sword of Portugal.

Sir Charles attained the rank of general in 1859 and was appointed a KCB in 1863; he died in 1866. The story of his adventurous career would fill many pages: suffice it to say here that he served for 65 years, after becoming a 15-year-old second-lieutenant in 1798. He served in Lord Nelson's squadron at Boulogne; suppressed a convict insurrection

at Sydney, Australia in 1804; and took part in many actions both ashore and afloat. His right arm had to be amputated as a result of wounds; and he received a Sword of Honour from the Patriotic Fund in 1806.

## 23rd Royal Welch Fusiliers

Having returned from Canada, and previously in the West Indies, the 1st Bn., 23rd Fusiliers was quartered at Winchester from October 1847, and it was here on 12 July 1849 that new colours were presented by Field-Marshal HRH Prince Albert. An illustration in one of the Regimental Histories (13) is entitled: 'Officers and men of the Royal Welch Fusiliers as in 1848, from a painting by Mr. Cunliffe of Portsmouth'. It represents two officers wearing the flash, the Drum-Major with the goat at his side, two privates, and a pioneer wearing the white buckskin apron and gauntlets, which the Regiment got leave, in 1886, to continue in use, a right which no other regiment shares (14).

One of the officers to receive the colours in 1849 was Lt. R. Bruce, who is at far right in the painting. The other officer in the group is named as Lt. F. B. Tritton, and is portrayed with his back to the viewer in order to show the flash. Between the Drum-Major and Lt. Bruce



Portrait of Lt. Col. Sir Charles Menzies, Royal Marine Artillery, 1843. Note the bell-top shako at lower right. The gilt star plate is surmounted by a large Victorian crown below the white ball tuft. It has the fowl anchor in silver in a central position, below a scroll with the word 'Gibraltar', and scrolls left and right below it inscribed 'Per Mare' and 'Per Terram', with the artillery grenade in silver mounted between them. (Courtesy PMC Officers Mess, Royal Marines, Eastney)

stands a docile looking Billy, the regimental goat. This animal had been with the battalion since 1844 when the previous goat died, and when two of the finest animals from the royal flock at Windsor Park were sent by Her Majesty, one to the 1st Battalion in the West Indies and the other to the reserve battalion in Canada.

## 77th Regiment (East Middlesex)

A fine compliment to this Regiment, but with a sting in the tail, was paid by an inspecting officer at Portsmouth in October 1848, who reported that 'he had every reason to be pleased with the Regiment on its return from America under Major Egerton, who was an excellent officer, but the depot joining under Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson spoilt the appearance and steadiness, though Lieut.-Col. Wilson was not to blame' (15).

The Regiment had been abroad since 1837 in Malta, West Indies, and finally Canada

from January 1846 to May 1848. Cunliffe's painting of a scene, made just five minutes' stroll from his house in Portsmouth, depicts two distinguished soldiers of the Regiment. Maj. Egerton, already mentioned, as lieutenant-colonel commanding is reported to have raised the 77th to a high pitch of excellence, but sadly was killed in action in the Crimea in 1855. The private soldier is reputed to be Pte. Alexander Wright of the Grenadier Company, Egerton's soldier servant. He was later mentioned for conspicuous bravery on three separate occasions during the Crimean





**Above:**  
23rd Royal Welch Fusiliers,  
Winchester, c.1848.



**Above right:**  
Major T. G. Egerton and Sentry,  
77th Regiment; King's Bastion,  
Portsmouth, 1849.

**Right:**  
Major T. G. Egerton and Sergeant,  
77th Regiment; Montreal, 1848.

campaign — in March, April and August 1855 — and was awarded the Victoria Cross (*London Gazette*, 24 February 1857). Once again, it is sad to report that Wright died on 28 July 1858.

It is thought that the name King's Bastion was adopted after the last major reconstruction of the fortifications of Portsmouth in the 1730s, and probably to commemorate King George II. Plans of that date show a magazine in a fairly central position, almost certainly a brick-built construction and not the wooden structure shown in Cunliffe's picture; this was probably a temporary guard room, the main guard post being in the centre of Grand Parade, a short distance away. One curious feature about the picture is the fact that the soldier's coat has the correct shade of lemon yellow facings but Egerton's jacket has a white collar and cuffs. No explanation can be offered for this curious error.

Cunliffe painted another portrait of Egerton, this one under his personal direction. The picture represents him in winter clothing at Montreal in 1848 before leaving for England. He is shown in conversation with a



sergeant, on this occasion not named but probably the Orderly Sergeant, who wears a detachable band of thick yellow-coloured material on his right cuff. He could be reporting 'All in order' after a final inspection before departure.

### 93rd Highlanders

Mention has already been made of Cunliffe's trip to the camp at Chobham in June 1853 and the delightful painting he made entitled 'The Sword Dance'. Whilst all the soldiers shown are 93rd Highlanders, only three wear uniform. The

fine soldierly-looking man in full dress with feather bonnet at left of the group is Colour-Sergeant F. McGillvray. He and L/Cpl. James Macpherson, seated at right with a pipe in his mouth, both did well in the army; McGillvray was later to become Chief Inspector of Lanark County Police, whilst Macpherson, after distinguished service with the 93rd during the Crimean War, was commissioned in the 70th Foot in 1859.

The piper in mixed dress — i.e. Gordons' kilt, 42nd hose and 93rd sporran — is Rory

McKay, who was soon to become Pipe-Major. The dancer is believed to sport a kilt of Drummond (red) and the man with the hammer a Ross kilt (also red). Looking over the bank just behind Ewart's dog Punch is the Pipe-Major, James Wilson. It is thought that during the Regiment's year at Portsmouth (August 1852 to June 1853) Cunliffe painted a portrait of Wilson, a magnificent picture against an imaginative Highland setting, although unfortunately it does not help us much with dress.

An Army Order of 11th





February 1854 states: 'The 42nd, 71st, 72nd, 74th, 78th, 79th, 92nd, and 93rd Highlanders have been allowed one pipe-major and five pipers each which are to be posted to the Service companies, when regiments are ordered to proceed abroad' — i.e. soldiers first and pipers second. Because these pipers had never previously been officially acknowledged there was no

**Above:**  
*'The Sword Dance'; 93rd Highlanders, Chobham, 1853. (See 'MI' No. 32, p. 31.)*

**Right:**  
*Pipe-Major James Wilson, 93rd Highlanders, 1853. (Courtesy Regt. HQ Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders, and Maj. P. Mileham).*



**Below:**  
*79th Highlanders, c.1853/54. (Reproduced by kind permission of The Editor, Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research)*





official uniform; they could be, and invariably were, dressed in costume selected by the CO, with colourful decorations. This is borne out in the portrait. The doublet is certainly nothing regimental, the green doublet coming into regimental wear in about 1856. The kilt is probably Government tartan, and the pattern of sporran agrees with one shown in wear by a bandsman of 1852 (16). The pipe-banner would seem to show the Union Flag and is augmented with colourful ribbons.

### 79th Highlanders

After leaving the camp at Chobham in August 1853 the 79th (Cameron) Highlanders entrained for Portsmouth, occupying Cambridge and Colwort Barracks; but they did not stay there long, embarking in May 1854 for the Crimea. The painting of soldiers of this Regiment by Cunliffe has been the subject of considerable and thorough research by Dr. Diana M. Henderson (17), who was of the opinion that the sketches of the 79th made at Chobham in 1853 were put together to complete this group. A mystery still remains, however: as there is no officer shown and no record exists concerning who would have commissioned the work (and, more importantly, been able to afford Cunliffe's fee), how did it come to be painted at all?

Dr. Henderson has traced the picture (3ft. 6in. x 5ft. framed) to New Zealand, and can account for its presence there, briefly as follows. The figure on extreme left of the group is Sergeant-Major John Mackay, whose brother Henry had served in the Regiment from 1822, eventually becoming sergeant-major, with further promotion to lieutenant and adjutant in 1841. Henry remained at the Depot at Portsmouth when the Regiment departed for Turkey, and later that year he was appointed captain and adjutant of the Forfar and Kincardine Artillery Militia in December 1854, holding that post until 1865/6, with the rank of brevet-major from 1855. He died in 1880 and in his will he left the Cunliffe painting to his brother John, who had emigrated to

New Zealand and to whom the painting was eventually delivered under the terms of the will. It remains there as the treasured possession of a grand-daughter.

### Conclusion

There can be little doubt that between the years 1842 and 1855 David Cunliffe, from his home in Portsmouth, concentrated on the military. However, there is one aspect of his artistic skill which he was unable to demonstrate to the full in these military groups: his mastery of equestrian painting. Portsmouth, although a garrison town of premier importance, was never a cavalry station, although there were some stabling facilities at Hulsea Barracks. Two examples showing this class of his work surfaced in 1990, when a portrait of a chestnut hunter and its owner, signed and dated 1837, and another of a bay hunter and rider signed and dated 1847, appeared at auction with an estimate high in four figures.

As far as is known most military pictures have been recorded, with the possible exception of one alleged to belong to a Scottish regiment but this showing figures from previous works. Information about this painting, and any other military 'unknown', would be welcomed by the present writer. The indications are that no further military paintings were undertaken after 1855. MI

### Acknowledgments

I should like to express my thanks to the following for their kind advice and assistance with these notes: Michael Barthorp; William Boag, MA; Michael Cane; Maj. A. J. Donald, RM; David Langham; Maj. P. Mileham; D. W. Quarmbay; Matthew Taylor, KStJ, FSA Scot.; Col. P. S. Walton and Staff, Army Museums Ogilby Trust.

### Footnotes

- (13) A version of the painting is reproduced in colour in *Historical Records of the Royal Welch Fusiliers* by Maj. R. Broughton-Mainwaring, 1889; the original reproduced in colour in *The Royal Welch Fusiliers*, Pitkin Pictorial, 1969, p.9.
- (14) *The Story of the Royal Welch Fusiliers* by H. F. Tipping, 1915.
- (15) *The Story of the Middlesex Regiment* by C. L. Kingsford, 1916.
- (16) JSAHR Vol. LXVIII, p.1. A painting by R. Poate.
- (17) JSAHR Vol. LX, p. 191.

## REVIEWS

continued from page 8



good deal more than just the basic captions too often seen in paperback photobooks from some other companies. It gives a concise but fairly meaty explanation of unit organisation and firepower, and there are divisional 'orbats' and unit 'wiring diagrams'. Sections on amphibious and airborne assault tactics give a good idea of who does what, when, with what, and to whom... A useful reference for wargamers and modellers, and value for money. **GHS**

**'Waffen-SS Uniforms in Colour Photographs' by Andrew Steven & Peter Amodio; Europa-Militaria No.6; Windrow & Greene Ltd.; 64pp, colour illus. throughout; p/bk; £9.95**

To the same basic format as the previous title, but less text allows nearly 150 colour photos to be included at good sizes: a remarkable achievement. Most of the pictures are 'set-ups' of live models wearing original uniforms and combat equipment, photographed out of doors; some have period vehicles as 'background props' — even a Hetzer SPG and an 'abandoned' T-34 tank. This approach seems to work well; the backgrounds add a realistic 'feel' while not being allowed to swamp the important detail of the uniforms and equipment. The printing is noticeably good

— in some (even full-length) studies the weave of the camouflage clothing can be made out easily. A number of the models used have a convincingly soldierly look.

The basic field grey uniforms and headgear of officers and men of the main combat branches are included in a number of variations, as are such useful details as shirts. Black, field grey, and camouflaged armoured crew uniforms: greatcoats and watchcoats; white/grey and white/camouflage padded winter dress; and a very wide range of camouflage smocks and drill uniforms are all covered, usually in several photographs from different angles.

This is a first-class reference source for modellers and artists. To have a colour photograph of a particular pattern of smock being worn, with all the associated field equipment, by a man realistically weighed down by the correct type of weapon, in natural light, and well printed, has to be the ultimate reference. The identifying and explanatory captions will be of added value to collectors, who will doubtless carry this handy paperback in their pockets when hazarding the potentially very high expense of new purchases.

An imaginative idea, sensibly carried out, and well produced; very good value, and highly recommended. **GHS**

### CARDS & PRINTS

**'Victorian Soldiers (Second Series): The British Army in the 1900s' by Luyis Reyes and Dionisio Cueto, Marques de Urquijo 40, 28008 Madrid, Spain; set of 8 plates; 1400 pesetas**

I reviewed the first series of *Victorian Soldiers* in 1988 and at that time drew attention to the similarity of these plates to the paper figures of the late 19th century. This addition to the series continues that tradition. Once again there are eight plates in full colour on good quality card. Each plate is supported by a full descriptive text in English, giving a potted history of the regiment represented, its battle honours, badges, and a concise explanation of the particular order of dress shown. There are additional notes with some of the plates which give interesting

details on the carrying of honorary colours or the reasons for particular peculiarities of dress.

The regiments represented are The Buffs, mounted section; The Royal Scots Fusiliers, marching order; Royal Welch Fusiliers, review order; South Wales Borderers, marching order; Duke of Wellington's Regiment in greatcoats with honorary colours; The Black Watch, full dress; Highland Light Infantry, review order with honorary colours; and King's Royal Rifle Corps, full dress. Each plate, except The Buffs, has 18 figures including officers, NCOs and men, drummers and buglers or pipers. The Buffs plate has six mounted figures including an officer, sergeant and bugler. I have no hesitation in recommending these plates again to collectors. SC



# Frank Richards

MICHAEL BARTHORP

Paintings by MICHAEL CHAPPELL

Perhaps the most symbolic figure of the British Army in the Great War would be one of Kitchener's Armies, the bravest and best of the generation that rushed to enlist on the outbreak of war and died in their thousands on the Somme in 1916. After them came the conscripts of 1917-18; before them, the Special Reservists and Territorials who held the ring in 1915 until the New Armies were trained. But throughout it all was a leavening of a quite different breed: the survivors of the 1914 Expeditionary Force — the 'Old Contemptibles' who saved the Channel Ports at First Ypres — the old pre-war Regulars and Regular Reservists.

One of these was Frank Richards, DCM, MM, whose two books *Old Soldier Sahib* and *Old Soldiers Never Die*, about life in the ranks before and during the war, were described by B. H. Liddell-Hart as 'an unvarnished picture of the old army'. Born in 1883, he was orphaned at the age of nine and adopted by an uncle and aunt in Monmouthshire. Three years later he started work in a colliery; but enlisted at the age of 17½ (claiming to be 19) in the Royal Welch Fusiliers for seven years with the Colours and five on the Reserve, joining the Regimental Depot at Wrexham on 12 April 1901. Both Regular battalions were then abroad, the 1st in South Africa, the 2nd in China; so Richards, after his recruit training, joined the Regiment's rear details, first at Plymouth, then in Jersey. In 1902 he sailed with a draft to join the 2nd Battalion which by then had moved to India. The rest of his peacetime Colour service was spent at various stations in India and Burma before he returned home in 1909 to go on the Reserve.

Though he saw no active service in that time, his *Old Soldier Sahib* gives a wonderful picture of the life and attitudes of the Rank and File in

Edwardian India, on and off duty, in cantonments and on the march. Though nominally a Welsh regiment, the majority of men in 2nd Royal Welch were Midlanders, mostly from Birmingham, or Cockneys, whom Richards thought a very fine, tough lot of men who proved themselves as good Welshmen as could be desired on St David's Day; many had been through the Boxer Rebellion.

## BARRACKS LIFE IN INDIA

He introduces the reader to men like his best pal, the Prayer-Wallah, who had read the Bible from cover to cover and whose command of Hindustani swear-words caused the Indians 'to look upon him with veneration and praise him as the oldest of old soldiers', though he was only four years older than Richards; the Soaker, with a reputation as a 'beer-shifter'; Old-Soldier Carr, 'the smartest soldier I ever saw', who died from drinking Billy Stink; Bern the Murderer, who 'turned religious, lived like a lord and gained over a stone in weight' while awaiting his execution; Gerald the Gentleman-Ranker who, while absent and masquerading as an US Army offi-

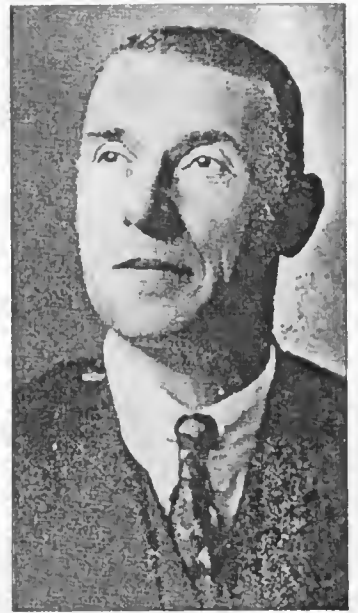
cer, was introduced to his own company commander; and many others.

Richards and his comrades firmly believed that 'what was won by the sword must be kept by the sword', and the current Viceroy, Lord Curzon, was much disliked for what the Rank and File saw as his weakness towards the Indians. Of the Indian Army, only with Gurkhas were British soldiers friendly enough for joking and playing tricks.

Within the battalion the prime virtues in the barrack room were courage, loyalty, generosity and honesty. Outside the family attitudes were more robust, towards not only the Indians, but also other British battalions. The Royal Welch and Highland Light Infantry were sworn enemies as a result of a football match played many years before; while the sight of a Black Watch man in a canteen would elicit shouts for a 'pint of broken square' — and inevitably a fight. There was no Scots-Welsh antipathy in this, as the Royal Welch were perfectly friendly with the Cameronians.

Of their officers, mostly landed gentry from North Wales and the Welsh Border, Richards said the relationship was based on 'mutual trust in military matters and sport, but no social contact. They were strict disciplinarians but far from treating us with contempt'. In his time he had three Commanding Officers, one a martinet and disliked, the other two respected and popular.

The men's off-duty pursuits, besides organised games, were hill-walking, game-shooting, keeping pets; the regimental library — Richards' favourite reading being historical romances, though he later progressed to Plutarch, Gibbon and Macaulay; games of chance like Crown and Anchor or House; watching Yank the Hypnotist levitate Drummer Lewis; and of course the boozing-clubs of the canteen. Richards and the Prayer-Wallah believed that sexual abstinence was unhealthy in a hot climate, so periodically visited the Rag, a brothel reserved for white troops; less careful men went with the 'sand-rats'



Frank Richards, DCM, MM, in later life.

outside the cantonment and invariably contracted 'venereal'. Occasionally dances were organised, attended by the 'married crocks' and carefully chaperoned Anglo-Indian girls. Among the latter a small minority of soldiers found wives, but such men usually remained in India on the expiry of their service, finding work on the railways.

After going on the Reserve, Richards went back to the colliery as a timberman's assistant, but soon regretted not having signed on to complete 12 years with Colours. In 1912 he extended his Reserve service for another four years, finding his happiest moments with other Reservists every quarter-day, when they foregathered for 'a drop of neck-oil' after drawing their sixpence a day Reserve pay.

## INTO THE TRENCHES

He was thus engaged when recalled to the Colours on 4 August 1914. He rejoined 2nd Royal Welch, now at Dorchester, in high spirits, and was soon in France. The men quickly made themselves at home in the Rouen cafés, ordering red wine in a mixture of English, Hindustani and Chinese.

The battalion was not engaged at the Battle of Mons, but went all through the Retreat and the ensuing fighting on the Marne and the Aisne. It was after the BEF's

move north to Ypres that 2nd Royal Welch had the severest fighting it had yet experienced. First Ypres was largely won by the BEF's musketry, and Richards remarked how 'to good, trained, pre-War soldiers who kept their nerve, ten men holding a trench could easily stop fifty advancing from four hundred yards'. Later in the war, when 'everybody was bomb-mad' (i.e. for grenades), he noted how some young soldiers hardly knew how to load their rifles.

After First Ypres the Western Front settled down to the trench warfare that was to last until 1918. Apart from leave and five weeks sick, Richards went through it all with his battalion, mostly as a regimental signaller or runner, including the big battles of Loos, the Somme, Third Ypres, the German 1918 offensive and the final advance, ending the war not far from where he had begun it, near Le Cateau. Most of the surviving pre-war Regulars ended up in the battalion transport out of the line, but Richards remained a front-line soldier until the end.

Though an experienced old soldier he steadfastly refused promotion; but he was awarded the DCM for maintaining vital communications under heavy fire during a trench raid in February 1916, and the MM for his work as a runner and intelligence-gatherer during Third Ypres. Of his DCM he said he had done no more than the other men and that he was just one of the lucky ones. Nevertheless it was prized as a decoration among soldiers, as the DSO was among officers; but Richards said 'the old regular soldiers thought very little' of the MC and MM introduced in 1916.

**The Regular's jaundiced eye** Compared with other Regular battalions, some of which had practically ceased to exist in 1914, 2nd Royal Welch was considered to be lucky and still had a sizeable Regular content well into 1915. Even after this, as wartime soldiers came to outnumber Regulars, the battalion remained very conscious of its Regular status and the higher standards expected of it. Richards and his pre-war com-

rades thought little of Territorials; and when taking over some badly kept-up trenches from one Territorial battalion — 'a very windy crowd' — one old Royal Welchman so resented being ordered about by one of its officers that he told him to 'put a sock in it and clear out with his men as they only made good soldiers weep'. They were, however, ready to make an exception of the 5th Scottish Rifles, in their brigade, who were always reliable. The author Robert Graves, who joined 2nd Royal Welch as a subaltern in 1915, wrote that 'the regimental spirit persistently survived all catastrophes', and that throughout the war all ranks of the Regular battalions knew their regimental history, being better informed about Minden, Albuera and Waterloo than the course of the war they were engaged in.

As the war dragged on, with the battalion's composition constantly changing through casualties, Richards had to suffer the loss of old comrades of many years' standing. By 1918 the battalion was filling up with conscripts — 'a sorry looking lot of men, some of whom were nearly all crocks': he thought the doctors who had passed them as A1 'cannot have had tender consciences'. By then 2nd Royal Welch was in the 38th (Welsh) Division, brigaded with two New Army battalions, and although it was the only Regular battalion in the Division, Richards said 'we had more young soldiers with us than any of the others'. By now, with conscription, 50% of the men were Welsh compared with only 10% in 1914.

Despite four years in the trenches Richards was only hit once, and then only by a piece of spent shrapnel bruising his calf. But he had many narrow escapes. On one occasion, going into the line as a signaller with C Company, he tried to exchange with another signaller named George Green attached to A Company, to which Richards normally belonged. By the time Green agreed it was too late to change. Later, during a bombardment, he was speaking to Green on the field telephone when the

conversation was cut short. When going out to repair the lines he found that Green and the other A Company signallers had been killed by a direct hit, just when he had been speaking to him. 'I thought to myself how nearly I had been in Green's place.' ('Darcy' Green, by a remarkable coincidence, was the maternal grandfather of the illustrator of this article, Michael Chappell).

Richards was eventually demobilised in December 1918, and spent some months in hospital. His book about his war, which he wrote before *Old Soldier Sahib*, was published in 1933, the other in 1936. He was persuaded and assisted to write by Robert Graves, whom Richards admired as an officer, and with whom he remained friends until his death. Graves described him as 'tall, resourceful, very Welsh, the company humourist'. Richards' books are unique in being the work of a Regular private soldier with little formal education, yet possessing a natural facility for evoking his experiences. He spares none of the horrors and tragedies, but is uncomplaining, perceptive, always giving credit (or blame) where it was due, to whatever rank, whilst his story is illuminated throughout by the Regular soldier's unique sense of humour. Not only highly readable, both books are equally revealing about their author, a wonderful example of the British professional soldier — a true 'Old Contemptible'.

Frank Richards died in 1961, aged 78. MI

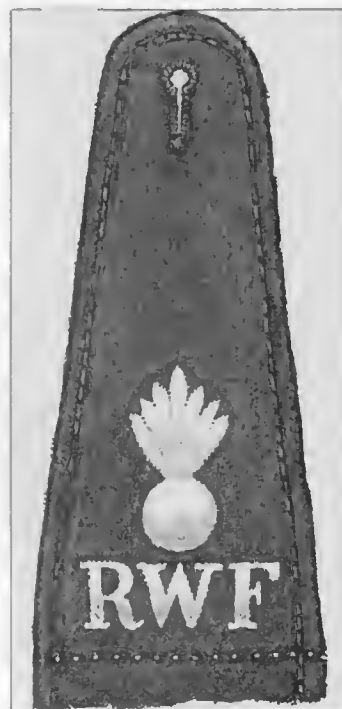
#### Sources:

Besides Richards' two books mentioned herein:  
Graves, Robert, *Goodbye to All That* (1929)  
Dunn, Capt. J. C., *The War the Infantry Knew: A Chronicle of Service with 2nd Battalion The Royal Welch Fusiliers, 1914-19* (1938; republished 1987)

**Mike Chappell's reconstructions show Private Frank Richards, DCM, MM as (top) a young soldier in home service guard-mounting order, shortly after joining the Royal Welch Fusiliers in 1901. His racoon-skin fusilier cap bears the regi-**

mental grenade, with Prince of Wales's Feathers on the ball; but is without the white plume, which was not introduced until after 1902. His full dress tunic has the round cuffs, which changed to pointed from 1902. The shoulder straps remained scarlet until 1913. Above the left cuff is the marksman's badge for which Richards qualified after completing his recruit training. Behind his collar can be seen the regiment's famous 'black flash', formerly worn by officers but authorised for all ranks in 1900. When on guard the waistbelt was worn with one pouch of the Slade-Wallace equipment.

(Below) Richards in his last year's service, as a regimental signaller on line-laying duties outside battalion headquarters of 2nd Bn. Royal Welch Fusiliers, autumn 1918. His khaki service dress tunic bears the ribbons of the Distinguished Conduct Medal, the Military Medal and the Mons Star (1914). On the left shoulder is the 38th (Welsh) Division formation sign; on the left cuff, three Good Conduct badges for more than 12 but less than 18 years' Colour service, below his marksman's and regimental signaller's badges. On the right cuff are four overseas service chevrons, the lowest, red chevron denoting service in 1914. His equipment includes a box-respirator, a linesman's belt with webbing frog for pliers, and a field telephone/buzzer. Also on the belt is a revolver, which Richards said he always found handier than a rifle when burdened with signals equipment. In his left hand is a reel of Don III cable; its metalwork, like his steel helmet, is painted GS grey.



Detail of tunic shoulder strap from 1901 colour reconstruction opposite — the grenade and cypher are embroidered in white on the scarlet strap.



# Private Frank Richards, DCM, MM



1901



1918



